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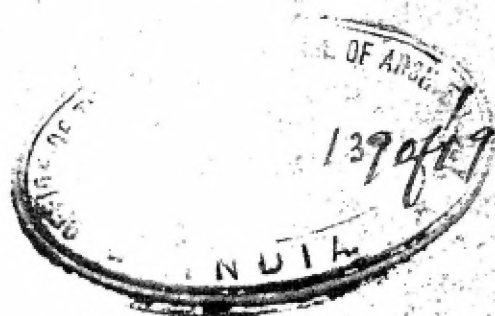
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FOLK-LORE

A QUARTERLY REVIEW

OF

MYTH, TRADITION, INSTITUTION, & CUSTOM

BRING

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY

And Incorporating THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIEW and
THE FOLK-LORE JOURNAL

VOL. XXII.—1911

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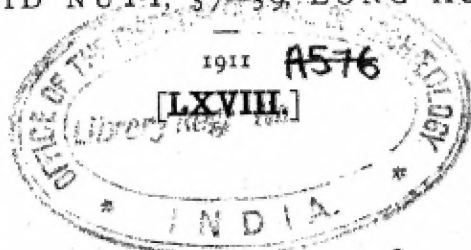
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LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY BY

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- P. 210, l. 23, *for* 505 *read* 550.
 P. 210, l. 27, *for* Glenseeade *read* Glensleade.
 P. 210, l. 28, *for* Inakerstown *read* Quakerstown.
 P. 211, l. 7, *for* Kilmaduan *read* Kilmacduan.
 P. 211, l. 9, *for* Braighdean *read* Baighdean.
 P. 211, l. 30, *for* Kilnemona *read* Kilnamona.
 P. 213, l. 21, *for* Milltown *read* Miltown.
 P. 263, l. 18, *for* Weiger *read* Wieger.
 P. 313, l. 25, *for* lla *read* all.
 P. 335, l. 1, *for* and *read* well.
 P. 335, l. 4, *for* Kilcameen *read* Kilcarrach.
 P. 335, l. 10, *for* Drimeliky *read* Drimelihy.
 P. 338, n. 20, l. 1, *for* Boulinrudda *read* Boolinrudda.
 P. 338, n. 20, l. 6, *for* Boulynamwella *read* Boulynanweela.
 P. 340, l. 20, *for* Craigbrien *read* Cragbrien.
 P. 341, l. 9, *for* Donal *read* Donogh.
 P. 377, l. 23, *for* in the East *read* in the East.



Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XXII.]

MARCH, 1911.

[No. I.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 16th, 1910.

THE PRESIDENT (MISS C. S. BURNE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. J. O'May, Miss R. Polkinghorne, Mr. W. B. Thompson, Dr. Thurnwald, Mr. E. Torday, Mrs. A. J. N. Tremearne, and Mr. T. J. Westropp, as members of the Society, was announced.

The death of Mr. C. Letts, and the resignations of Miss E. Belcher, Mr. H. Conrad, Mrs. W. S. Durrant, Miss A. Garnett, the Rev. H. N. Hutchinson, and Mr. G. Zervos, were also announced.

The following objects were exhibited:—

By Mr. E. Lovett:—Traps, tallies, and amulets of a Norfolk mole-catcher.

By Mrs. Gomme:—"Kern Babies" from Hereford, Berwick (N.B.), and Long Crendon (Bucks.); "Necks" from Cornwall and Devon; "Hare" from Aberdeen.

By Mr. J. S. Amery:—"Kern Baby" and sickle for

cutting corn from Ashburton (Devon); photographs of implements used in cutting wheat, threshing, and reed-making at the same place.

Mr. E. Torday read a paper on "Bushongo Mythology" (pp. 41-7), and exhibited a number of lantern slides illustrative of the paper. In the discussion which followed Major O'Brien, Mr. Halliday Sparling, Mr. Lovett, Dr. Gaster, Mr. Wright, and the President took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Torday for his paper, and to Mr. Lovett, Mrs. Gomme, and Mr. Amery for their exhibits.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 21st, 1910.

THE PRESIDENT (MISS C. S. BURNE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Miss E. Canziani, the Rev. Canon Grant, Mrs. Nutt, Miss Saidie Thompson, and Mrs. J. S. Wingate, as members of the Society, the withdrawal of the resignation of Miss A. Garnett, and the admission of the Kansas City Public Library, as a subscriber to the Society, were announced.

The resignations of Mr. G. M. Bishop, Mr. H. M. Bower, Mr. E. Macbean, and Mr. S. E. Bouverie Pusey were also announced.

Mr. W. Crooke read a paper entitled "King Midas and his Ass's Ears." In the discussion which followed Miss Hull, Dr. Gaster, Mr. Major, and the President took part. A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Crooke for his paper.

Mr. Lovett read a paper on a collection of amulets and

charms made by him in Devonshire and elsewhere in England. In the discussion which followed Dr. Gaster, Miss Eyre, Dr. Hildburgh, and the President took part. A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Lovett for his paper and exhibits.

The following objects were exhibited by Mr. Lovett:—
From South Devon,—a number of heart-shaped amulets; stones used as amulets against drowning, toothache, and warts; toy anchor used as amulet against drowning; hag or witch stone; marks on the bark of holly known as “pixies’ love letters”; skull of a cat with pins in base, used as an amulet against witches; astragalus used to cure cramp; holed stone used as safety amulet with key; native shell necklet worn for luck; twigs of the male ash and dried body of a frog carried or worn as amulets for curing fits; amulet against lightning; stone carried as amulet against evil eye; water-worn coal given to sailors for good luck; hearts pierced with pins and nails by workers of magic; pincushion amulet given to sailors; collection of horse brasses; natural “heart” stone. From Whitby,—hag stone; thunderbolt; bone carried by sailors as amulet against drowning. From Suffolk,—heart-shaped amulets of amber; bone carried as cure for rheumatism. From Belgium,—amulet against toothache. From Dorset,—thunderbolt. From Kent,—iron pyrites lumps regarded as thunderbolts; water-worn coal given to sailors for good luck. From Cornwall,—heart-shaped amulet. From Antrim,—celt regarded as thunderbolt. From Naples and Persia,—heart-shaped amulets. From London,—coal carried for good luck.

THE THIRTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 18th, 1911.

THE PRESIDENT (MISS C. S. BURNE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report, Revenue Account, and Balance-Sheet for the year 1910 were duly presented, and upon the motion of the President, seconded by Mr. Tabor, it was resolved that the Report be received and adopted, and that the Revenue Account and Balance Sheet be adopted, subject to being passed by the Auditors.

Balloting papers for the election of President, Vice-Presidents, Council, and Officers having been distributed, the Secretary and Mr. A. A. Gomme were nominated by the President as scrutineers for the Ballot.

In the absence of Mr. T. Fairman Ordish, the Secretary read a report prepared by him on the Mumming Play and other vestiges of Folk-Drama in the British Isles. It was resolved that the thanks of the Society be given to Mr. Ordish for the preparation of the Report, and that it be referred to the Council to consider what steps can be taken for giving effect to the suggestions contained in it.

The President then delivered her Presidential Address on "The Essential Unity of Folklore," (pp. 14-40).

At the request of the President, the Secretary then announced the result of the Ballot, and the following were declared duly elected, viz. :—

As *President*, W. Crooke, Esq., B.A.

As *Vice-Presidents*, The Hon. John Abercromby; The Right Hon. Lord Avebury, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.; Sir

E. W. Brabrook, C.B., F.S.A.; Miss Charlotte S. Burne; E. Clodd, Esq.; J. G. Frazer, Esq., LL.D., Litt.D.; M. Gaster, Ph.D.; Sir G. Laurence Gomme, F.S.A.; A. C. Haddon, Esq., D.Sc., F.R.S.; E. S. Hartland, Esq., F.S.A.; A. Lang, Esq., LL.D.; Professor Sir J. Rhys, LL.D., F.B.A., F.S.A.; W. H. D. Rouse, Esq., Litt.D.; The Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce, M.A., LL.D., D.D.; and Prof. E. B. Tylor, LL.D., F.R.S.

As *Members of Council*, G. Calderon, Esq.; M. Longworth Dames, Esq.; A. A. Gomme, Esq.; W. L. Hildburgh, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.; T. C. Hodson, Esq.; Miss E. Hull; A. W. Johnston, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.; W. F. Kirby, Esq., F.L.S.; E. Lovett, Esq.; A. F. Major, Esq.; R. R. Marett, Esq., M.A.; W. H. R. Rivers, Esq., M.D.; C. G. Seligmann, Esq., M.D.; C. J. Tabor, Esq.; E. Torday, Esq.; E. Westermarck, Esq., Ph.D.; H. B. Wheatley, Esq., F.S.A.; and A. R. Wright, Esq.

As *Hon. Treasurer*, Edward Clodd, Esq.

As *Hon. Auditors*, F. G. Green, Esq.; and A. W. Johnston, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.

As *Secretary*, F. A. Milne, Esq., M.A.

The outgoing President then congratulated the newly-elected President, who took the Chair, and thanked the Society for the honour they had conferred upon him.

Upon the motion of Mr. Longworth Dames, seconded by Mr. Clodd, a very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the outgoing President for the services she had rendered to the Society during her term of office. Miss Burne, having acknowledged the votes of thanks, moved, and Mr. Johnston seconded, a resolution congratulating Sir G. Laurence Gomme on his Knighthood, which was carried with acclamation. The resolution was acknowledged by Lady Gomme in the unavoidable absence of her husband.

The following objects were exhibited:—

By Miss C. S. Burne—A copy of 'Thomas Blount's (1674) "Glossographia or a Dictionarie interpreting Hard words,"

presented in 1805 by Mr. Brand (compiler of the *Antiquities*) to his friend H. Key; a copy of the first edition (1777) of Brand's "Observations on Popular Antiquities including the whole of Mr. Bourne's *Antiquitates Vulgares* with Addenda to every chapter of that work."

By Mr. T. Fairman Ordish—Photographs of sword-dancer's coat and sword-dancer's hat from Durham; photograph of dress of Plough-Monday player, from Vale of Beaver (Northamptonshire); photographs of three scenes from mummers' play at Netley Abbey; photograph of Horn Dance at Abbot's Bromley (Staffordshire); drawing of a mummers' play from Mill Hill (Middlesex); drawings of "Old Bighead," "Father Christmas," and "Dolly" from the same mummers' play; photographs of mummers' swords and hats, and drawing of a fight in a mummers' play, from Sherfield English (Hants).

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 18th, 1911.

THE PRESIDENT (MR. W. CROOKE) IN THE CHAIR.

On the motion of the President, seconded by Mr. Wright, it was resolved that the existing Rules of the Society be rescinded, and that the new Rules shown on the leaflet supplied to Members be those by which the Society will in future be governed.

THE THIRTY-THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council have much pleasure in reporting that the numbers of the Society are well maintained. Fifteen members have resigned during the year, and there have been four deaths, but on the other hand twenty-five new members and two subscribers have been added to the roll, and the total number now stands at 434.

Meetings of the Society have been held as follows:—

19th January, 1910. (Annual Meeting.) Presidential Address: "The Value of European Folklore in the History of Culture." Miss Charlotte S. Burne.

16th February. "The Cult of Executed Criminals in Sicily." Mr. E. Sidney Hartland.

"The Congo Medicine-Man and his Black and White Magic." Rev. J. H. Weeks.

16th March. "The Ancient Charm-Hymns of Ireland." Miss Eleanor Hull.
"Method and Minotaur." Mr. A. Lang.

20th April. "Marriage Customs, Bedû and Fellahin." Mrs. H. Hamish Spoer.

11th May. Address of Condolence voted to H.M. King George V. on the demise of H.M. King Edward VII.

1st June. "Okidâl, a Method of Killing among the Muppans, a hill tribe of Malabar." Mr. F. Fawcett.

"Some Nāga Customs and Superstitions." Mr. T. C. Hodson.

15th June. "Moorish Beliefs and Customs." Dr. Westermarck.

16th November. "Bushongo Mythology." Mr. E. Torday.

21st December. "King Midas and his Ass's Ears." Mr. W. Crooke.

"Some Charms and Amulets from Devonshire." Mr. E. Lovett.

Exhibits, far too numerous to note in detail here, were on view at every meeting. Early in the year the Council appointed a special "Exhibits and Museum Committee" consisting of Mrs. Gomme, Miss Roalfe Cox, Dr. Hildburgh, Mr. Lovett, and Mr. Allan Gomme (convener), who arranged a very successful programme of exhibits in harmony with the papers read. Two table-cases in which objects lent for exhibition may be placed have been obtained, and the system is now in full working order. The following objects exhibited have been presented to the Society and are now placed in the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge.

By Professor Starr.

- (1) Two figures in black wax, pierced with pins for injuring an enemy. From Zacualco in western Mexico.
- (2) An amulet of bamboo and shells suspended under the eaves of houses among the Ilocanos and other tribes. From Agoo, La Union Province, Luzon, Philippine Islands.

By Mr. E. S. Hartland.

Two models of house-posts, carved and painted by Joe Hayes, a Nootkan Indian, and representing scenes from his family history. From Clayoquot, west coast of Vancouver Island.

By Mr. F. Fawcett.

- (1) Blunt arrows and an *Okiddl* stick used by the Muppans in their killing process.
- (2) A bamboo water-vessel employed in one of the death-ceremonies of the same tribe.

A list of the additions to the library will be found appended to the minutes of the April meeting (*Folk-Lore*, vol. xxi. p. 266).

Dr. Gaster and Mr. Longworth Dames attended the Congress of Archæological Societies in July as delegates of the Society, and the President, Sir Edward Brabrook, Mr. Sidney Hartland, Dr. Haddon, and Professor J. L. Myres, together with Mr. W. Croke, President of Section H, represented the Society at the meeting of the British Association at Sheffield.

The twenty-first volume of *Folk-Lore* has been issued during the year, and will be found equal in interest and value to any of its predecessors. Warm thanks are due to the Editor, Mr. A. R. Wright, for the labour he has so ungrudgingly bestowed not only on editing but on indexing the volume. The volume of the *Annual Bibliography of Folklore* dealing with 1908 will be ready shortly.

Mr. E. Sidney Hartland's *Primitive Paternity*, vols. i. and ii., has been issued during the year, being the extra volumes for 1909 and 1910. The extra volume for 1911 has not yet been decided on. Mr. J. S. Simpkins' collection of the folklore of Fife from printed sources has been received, and the new edition of the *Handbook of Folklore*, so long delayed, is expected to be ready in the course of the year.

A year ago the Council had to record the destruction of a large part of the Society's stock by fire. It had been insured for £1500 in the Westminster Insurance Office. The Society accepted the sum of £1100 in satisfaction of its claim, and took over the salvage stock. £1000 of the sum received from the Insurance Company has been invested in the names of the Society's trustees, Sir Edward Brabrook, Mr. Edward Clodd, and Mr. J. E. Crombie, and the remainder allotted to binding the salvage copies, which are offered *to members and subscribers* at 4s. a volume, with all faults, post free. The volumes are complete, but somewhat water-stained. Members are advised to take advantage of this opportunity to complete their sets, as many of the Society's publications are becoming scarce.

A new and carefully revised edition of the Prospectus was issued during the year and distributed to members. It includes full particulars of the publications. The type will be kept standing and the Prospectus brought up to date each year. A leaflet of Hints for the Use of Collectors of Folklore has also been issued. Copies of both may be obtained *gratis* of the Secretary.

The Society has sustained a severe loss in the melancholy death of Mr. Alfred Nutt by drowning in the gallant attempt to rescue his invalid son from the same fate. (See *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxi. pp. 335-7.) His scholarly learning and his technical knowledge were always ungrudgingly placed at the service of the Folk-Lore Society, and it is to his personal prestige among continental scholars and his business connections with continental publishers that we mainly owe our considerable proportion of foreign members. Arrangements are pending for the continuance of the Society's business connection with his firm.

The Council think that it behoves the Society, while not neglecting the study of foreign or savage folklore, to take some further step in the direction of collating and digesting that of the British Isles. They have therefore resolved to undertake (in the first instance) the compilation of a new edition of the Calendar volume of Brand's *Antiquities*. They have been so fortunate as to secure the services of Mr. H. B. Wheatley as Honorary Editor-in-chief, and they desire to enlist the assistance of as many members of the Society as possible to work under his direction as readers, correspondents, investigators on the spot, and sub-editors. It is proposed that Sir Henry Ellis's edition shall be taken as the basis of the work collated with his Ms. additions, with extracts from Hone, Chambers, *Notes and Queries*, the publications of the Society, local books and papers, etc., etc. It is intended to omit theories and speculations as to origin, to arrange the matter chronologically under the several days and seasons, and to cite parallels but sparingly. But, however carefully limited, the work must be one of considerable magnitude, and it cannot be worthily carried out without wide and active support among members of the Society, for which the Council confidently and unhesitatingly appeal. The Secretary will be glad to hear from all members who can take even a very small share in the undertaking.

An attempt has been made during the year to stir up fresh interest in Ireland in the collection of folklore and in the indexing of material already published in local journals or deposited in manuscript in public libraries. A central Committee has been formed in Dublin with Mr. T. J. Westropp, M.R.S.A.I., as secretary, and Miss Ferguson, 22 Dartmouth Square, Dublin, as assistant secretary, and the Committee are endeavouring to organise local committees throughout the country, and to obtain collectors in each district. They are also turning their attention to the preservation of the folk stories in Irish sent in for competition at the local *feiseanna*, many of which have been lost for lack of interest in their preservation.

The Council have received a gratifying request for affiliation from the Anthropological Society of the University of Oxford. This bids fair to open up a new recruiting ground for members and especially for workers, and necessitates an addition to the Rules of the Society. The opportunity has therefore been taken to revise the rules as a whole, and to add such as experience has shown to be needed for the efficient working of the Society. The amended rules will be submitted for approval and confirmation to a Special General Meeting to be held on 18th January, 1911, immediately after the conclusion of the Annual Meeting.

The Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year 1910 are submitted herewith.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE,
President, 1910.

REVENUE ACCOUNT FOR YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1910.

To Printing Publications:—

Folk-Lore, Excess of Estimate for 1909,

" a Quarterly Vols., for 1910,

" Estimate for Vols. iii and iv,

£14 11 2

56 8 6

120 0 0

£30 19 8

" Printing *Primitive Paternity*, Vol. ii.,

" Expenses of Distribution of Publications,

" Commission on Sales,

" Binding of Stock,

" Warehousing Stock,

£87 10 0

46 3 5

4 14 11

£40 3 10

3 1 8

43 5 6

" General Expenses:—

Insurance,

Stationery, Printing, and Postage,

Secretary's Salary and Commission,

Hire of Rooms for Meetings,

Expenses of Meetings,

Miscellaneous Expenses,

Subscriptions to Societies,

Accountant's Fee,

£27 1 3

27 3 16

58 16 0

10 14 0

16 9 6

3 4 10

2 1 0

4 4 0

129 14 5

By Subscriptions,

" Sale of Publications,

" Discounts,

" Dividends,

" Balance transferred to Balance Sheet, being excess

" of expenditure over income for the year,

£443 12 0

59 13 0

5 8 3

16 9 8

17 5 0

£542 7 11

£542 7 11

BALANCE SHEET, 31ST DECEMBER, 1910.

LIABILITIES.		ASSETS.	
Sundry Creditors:—		Cash at Bankers,	£160 17 8
<i>Folk-Lore</i> , Vols. iii. and iv. 1910,		Sundry Debtors:—	
as per estimate,	£120 0 0	Messrs D. Nutt & Co.,	£12 3 5
Messrs. D. Nutt & Co.,	11 9 3	C. J. Tabor, Esq., Sales of Salvage	
Secretary,	23 16 0	Stock,	17 0 0
Accountant	4 4 0		£29 3 5
	£159 9 3		
Subscriptions paid in advance,	15 15 0	For Subscriptions in Arrears,	48 6 0
Overdraft on Petty Cash,	0 4 2	Binding etc. Salvage Stock (to be repaid	
Permanent Fund: (Amount received from Westminster		out of sales of same),	£65 14 6
Fire Office for Damage to Stock),	1,100 0 0	Less Sales to Dec. 31st, 1910,	17 0 0
			48 14 6
Capital Account: Jan. 1st, 1910,	£24 10 8	Investments:—	
Less Balance transferred from Revenue		500 Canada, 3½%,	£498 15 0
Account, 31st December, 1910,	17 5 0	500 Natal, 3½%,	496 17 6
			995 12 6
	7 5 8		£1,282 14 1
	£1,282 14 1		

We have compared the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers produced to us and find the same to be in accordance therewith.

EDWARD CLODD, *Hon. Treasurer.*

F. G. GREEN
A. W. JOHNSTON } *Hon. Auditors.*

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

THE ESSENTIAL UNITY OF FOLKLORE.

WHEN last year I had the honour of addressing you from this Chair, I ventured to prophesy that in a year's time the Council would be able to come before you with proposals for some definite work which should employ and concentrate the energies of the Society at large. I am now so fortunate as to find my prophecy fulfilled. You will have seen from the Annual Report, now before you, that the Council feel with me that the time has come for an endeavour to present the world with some authoritative *corpus* of British Folklore. A full and complete record can hardly be obtained until the series of *County Folklore* is completed; but that can hardly be in the lifetime of many of us here present, and meanwhile, in the picturesque language of the folk, "while the grass grows, the horse starves." We have, therefore, resolved, at the suggestion of Mr. Crooke, to undertake the very serious and important task of bringing out a new edition of the Calendar Customs portion of the work well known to us all as *Brand's Antiquities*. The history of the book, however, is not so well known. The nucleus of it is a little treatise on the local popular beliefs and customs, compiled by the Rev. Henry Bourne, Curate of All Saints, Newcastle-on-Tyne, in 1725. Fifty-two years later (in 1777), this was enlarged and added to by the Rev. John Brand, subsequently Secretary to the

Society of Antiquaries. Mr. Brand continued to accumulate materials for the enrichment of the work, but at his death in 1806 these were still in Ms. They came eventually into the hands of Sir Henry Ellis, who added considerably to them, rewrote and rearranged them on a new plan, and published them in two quarto volumes in 1813. He then further enlarged and published them in 1841 in the three-volume edition familiar as *Ellis's Brand*. Several crimes have since then been committed in the name of Brand, but Sir Henry Ellis's still remains the standard edition, and the standard work on the folklore of Great Britain. Much water has, however, flowed under London Bridge since 1841 and 1848, the date of his last recension, and the time seems ripe for a new and fuller edition of the historic work. The Council propose *for the present* to confine themselves to the Calendar Customs. These, it is suggested, should be collated with certain notes by Brand and Ellis left still in Ms., with Hone's *Every Day Book* and *Table Book*, with Chambers' *Book of Days*, the old volumes known as *Time's Telescope*, the publications of our own Society, *Notes and Queries*, the collections of the late Canon Benham contributed to the *Church Times*, and with local works of all sorts. Further, the information should be brought up to date, and customs now extinct be distinguished from those still existing.

Mr. Henry B. Wheatley, a member of the Council, who has been a member of the Society from very early days, and whose special qualifications for the work need no explanation or recommendation from me, has kindly consented to act as Honorary Editor, with the assistance of a competent staff of sub-editors. But a whole army of readers, collectors, and correspondents will be needed for some years to come, if the work is to be done in a manner worthy of the Society and the subject. It will mean a long pull, and a strong pull, and a pull all together, and no member should be deterred by diffidence from offering to

take some small part in the work. What the book will eventually grow to, and in what form it will appear, must be left to the future. Meantime, *Folk-Lore* will go on as usual, and the *County Folklore* series will not be discontinued.

I have now to ask your attention to the revised edition of the Prospectus, copies of which have been forwarded to all members.¹ In it the Council have endeavoured to formulate with greater precision the exact scope and limits of the Society's studies, and you will be asked to-night to sanction a revised wording of Rule I. in accordance with this definition. Even yet there are those who confound folklore with architectural antiquities on the one hand, and with dialects on the other. Others, who have arrived at some perception of its nature, still look upon it as a miscellaneous collection of odds and ends, interesting only to the mere dilettante, the intellectual bric-à-brac hunter, and are far from realizing that it is the product of an important phase of man's intellectual history, and, as such, most worthy the attention of all serious students of human nature.

For what is Folklore? The word itself answers the question. It is *the learning of the people*, the traditional lore of the folk,—whether among the backward races of mankind or among the backward classes of more advanced races. It is not folk-speech. It is not art or handicraft. It is the product of the Thought, the Idea, of early or barbaric man, expressed in word or in action, in *Belief, Custom, Story, Song, or Saying*. This is no mere arbitrary selection of subjects. On the contrary, it represents with tolerable completeness the mental activities of unlettered folk.

Let me try to show this by a concrete example. A traditional ballad, known by the name of the "Bitter Withy," has lately come to light in Herefordshire and the adjoining counties (and in one case in Sussex), where it is

¹ Copies for distribution can be had from the Secretary on application.

(or was) sung as a Christmas carol. It does not appear in Professor Child's great collection of ballads, and its discovery is due to the personal enquiries of members of the Folk-Song Society, followed up by letters to local papers.² The ballad tells how the Virgin Mary granted her Son's request to be allowed to go and play, on condition that she should "hear no tales" of Him "at night when" He "came home." His playfellows taunt Him with His lowly birth, and so, to prove His real origin and His powers, He makes a bridge of sunbeams over the sea, and runs across it safely. His companions trying to do the same are drowned.

"So it's up Lincull, and down Lincull
Their mothers did whoop and call;
'O Mary mild, call home your Child,
For ours are drowned all.'

Then Mary mild called home her Child
And laid Him across her knee,
And with a handful of bitter withy
She gave Him slashes three.

'And it's oh! the withy, the bitter withy,
That causéd Me to smart;
The withy shall be the very first tree
To perish at the heart!'"

Now here we have, first of all, *the observation of a fact in Nature*. The willow does actually decay before other trees. It "perishes at the heart" while preserving an outward appearance of soundness. Then we have an *aetiological myth* invented to account for this peculiar property of the willow. It is attributed to a curse laid on the tree by a Higher Power. (The particular story told is a version of an incident in the Apocryphal Gospels. I shall return to this by and by.)

Resulting from the perishable nature of the willow we

² Cf. *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, June, 1910.

have, further, not quite a taboo, strictly so-called, but a *customary prohibition*. For in Herefordshire and the adjacent counties the willow may not be used as a whip for chastising children or animals; because, says one informant, our Saviour was beaten with it by His Mother,—(here we have the *myth* alleged as a reason for the *custom*); because it will stunt their growth, says another; because it will give them internal pains, says a third. Here we meet with the world-wide *belief* that the qualities of any given object may be imparted to another by simple contact. The scientific call that “sympathetic magic,” but there is little or no magic about it in the eyes of the simple folk who hold the belief. To them it is merely a natural law to be reckoned with or utilized as occasion demands. They reason, I imagine,—or their forefathers did,—on the analogy of disease. If that can be communicated by contact, why not anything else? At all events willow-rods may not be used in chastisement on the Welsh Marches, and neither (in Salop, at least) may the low-growing broom, on the same plea that it will stunt the victim's growth. The mountain-ash, sovereign against witchcraft, is there, as in Scotland, considered the proper wood for carters' whip-stocks.³ The popular use of the tall and slender birch is known to every one (painfully well known, it may be, to some!). The ground-ash, too, probably owes much of its credit as an instrument of punishment to its straight and noble growth. A Scottish schoolmaster migrated to Cheshire and imported with him the national attribute of his office, the tawse. Public opinion was greatly incensed by his choice of a weapon, and the village blacksmith spoke out. “Hey, gaffer,” he said firmly to the Dominie, “thou'st been a'-ammerin' our Tom wi' a strap

³ In Somerset, the hazel is used for the purpose, as Mr. Lovett informed us at our last meeting (Dec. 14, 1910), and in South Devon the holly. A stick of holly thrown after a runaway beast will bring it back, according to his informant.

wi' a 'ole in it, 'stead of a stick, and ah wunna 'ave it. Whoy *what dost think ash-plants was growed for?*"⁴

To return to the willow. If its use is forbidden for some purposes, it is prescribed for others. Its quick decay, and especially its deceptive appearance of soundness, are no doubt the reasons that it is used as the emblem of a forsaken maiden. To "wear the willow" for a false lover is a proverbial *saying*,⁵ and Brand tells us that in the seventeenth century a girl about to be married would send presents of willow garlands to her discarded suitors. It was used with similar symbolism in funeral *rites*.

"Lay a garland on my herse
Of the dismal yew;
Maidens, *willow-branches bear*,
Say I died true."⁶

Here, in the folklore of the willow-tree, we have Belief and Practice, Myth, Song, and Saying, inextricably mingled,—and this is the point I want to put before you to-night, that Folklore is not an assemblage of miscellaneous items,—it is an essential unity. You cannot separate Belief, Custom, and Myth,—(Songs and Sayings are but concrete forms enshrining these),—as matters of study. The three are interdependent, homogeneous. They are in their several ways the expression of the psychology of uncultured man; in other words, they make up the Learning of the Folk,—Folklore.

You will, however, I am sure, have already perceived the weak point in my illustration from the willow-tree. It does not involve Custom in the sense of Social Organization or Institution, and it may reasonably be asked how Folklore, under our definition of the word, can be held to include social, or, rather, institutional customs? In reply

⁴ E. M. Snycd-Kynnersley, *H.M.I., some passages in the life of one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools*, p. 220.

⁵ The *weeping* willow is nowhere specified, any more than the weeping ash.

⁶ *The Maid's Tragedy*, Beaumont and Fletcher, 1619, quoted in Ellis's *Brand*, vol. ii., p. 264.

to this question we may point to India, where the whole social fabric of Hinduism is reared on the foundation of the caste system, the main feature of which is the preservation of purity of race or caste by avoidance of contact. Or we may cite totemism with its accompaniment of exogamy. Here it is impossible to say where Belief ends and Custom begins. We can only perceive that the whole social system is moulded by obscure beliefs about the relations between the human race, the brute creation, and inanimate nature.

But it is certainly more difficult to perceive the connection between Belief and Custom in Europe, and especially in England, where the old village system has been so entirely broken up, and the old social groups disintegrated. In Ireland something of an older state of things still remains. Their agrarian system differs from ours, the ancient customs of inheritance still linger among the peasantry, and the sense of family solidarity and mutual responsibility is still strong. Penniless members of the family group quarter themselves together without ceremony on their richer brethren, and marriage continues to be a family affair, not merely the concern of the contracting parties only. There is a different tone of thought, and a corresponding difference in practice. But in England the whole trend of our social system for the past few generations has been increasingly individualistic. Individual ownership of land prevails, individual occupation, individual cultivation. Self-help is the approved principle of action in all classes. Every adult must struggle for himself, must make his own way, and marriage becomes more and more a matter for the individuals themselves alone. The influence of the traditional solidarities wanes on every hand. Yet even here, when society re-moulds itself and men gather into groups again, common belief is a factor in re-creating common action. We see Roman Catholics intermarrying among themselves, each individual Nonconformist chapel tending to become the nucleus of a social set, and

adherence to particular economic tenets inspiring the formation of Trades Unions. Thought still moves to action, and to common action, but the old traditional ideas have ceased to shape or colour the institutions of the country. Hence we often say that European folklore exists *in a state of survival*.

Now what is Survival?

Etymologically, it should mean something *qui survit*, which *outlives* its fellows, like the Wandering Jew, encountered suddenly and unexpectedly, now here, now there, in every quarter of the globe from century to century. In practice, we use the word rather to denote a relic, a dead thing cut off from its source, like a lock of hair preserved long after the head it was cut from has mouldered into dust. A survival, in the technical sense, has been defined as "a vestigial or decadent element of culture, which has ceased to be in organic relation with the prevailing form of culture," or, as it might be expressed, "has out-lived the form of culture to which it originally belonged." If we look into the matter closely we shall find, I think, that the folklore survival consists of *certain special elements* of an ancient culture existing apart from the rest. Either the strong framework of *Institution* is wanting, or else the animating force of *Belief*. When the Lord Mayor offers his sword to the King at the City boundary, only to have it returned to him, the ceremony was once a living reality, the acknowledgment by a tributary ruler of his liege lord on the one hand, and on the other the proof of the sovereign's confidence in the loyalty of his vassal. Now, (though hardly to be reckoned folklore), it has become "a mere survival," an empty form, a relic of the past which no longer has any real function in the social polity of the day. The *ceremony*, in fact, has out-lived the *Institution* to which it belonged. When we mechanically avoid walking under ladders, or throw spilt salt over the left shoulder, or turn over a coin on hearing the first cuckoo,—

still more, when we deal cards, or pass the decanter, the way of the sun,—*Custom* (or rather Practice) survives *Belief*. Again, the Lushai, the Hausa, and the Bushman believes that the marvellous incidents in his folk-tales might, and probably did, happen,—that men were changed into beasts, and beasts spoke and acted as men. The European child listens with delight to *Cinderella* or *Beauty and the Beast*, but he does not believe that a rat could become a coachman or a beast be a transformed prince. The *Story* survives the *Belief*.

But when Belief survives, though Customs may be changed and Stories forgotten, then "the case is altered." The survival is no mere dead relic then.

Let me tell you of an incident which happened within my own knowledge, and which could probably be paralleled in any county in England. On the 21st January, 1879, a labouring man was sent with a horse and cart from Ranton Abbey in Staffordshire to Woodcote Hall, Shropshire, a distance of fourteen or fifteen miles. On the way he had to pass over a bridge which carries the high road over the Birmingham and Liverpool Canal. The canal runs through a deep cutting between spoil-banks planted with trees, the bridge is of peculiar construction, and the whole is a rather fine bit of engineering work by Telford. It is a picturesque spot with an eerie and uncanny reputation. Well, the man returned late at night with his empty cart and tired horse, when just as he reached the bridge a black Thing with white eyes sprang out of the trees and alighted on the horse's back. (*A cat, did ye say? No, it wurra no cat.*) The weary horse broke into a canter; the terrified man lashed at the intruder; but to his horror the whip went through the Thing, and fell from his hand to the ground. How he got rid of the invader he never knew, but at length, his horse "all of a lather," he reached the village of Woodseaves, and there told his tale, alarming one of his hearers, (whom I know well to this day), so much

that he stayed at Woodseaves all night rather than cross the Big Bridge to reach his home.

Well, the ghost-seer got home safely at last with his horse and cart, perfectly sober, as I was assured a few days later by his master, who was watching for his return; and the whip was picked up next day just where he reported having dropped it. A couple of days or so afterwards, the village policeman called on Mr. Bailey, the man's master, and desired him to give information of his having been stopped and robbed on the Big Bridge a few nights before, (for such was the form in which the story had reached the ears of the representative of the Law). Mr. Bailey, amused, gave him the correct version. The policeman was much disappointed. He was a local man, (which Mr. Bailey was not), and well up in the local traditions. "Oh, was that all, sir?" he said. "Oh, I know what *that* was. That was the Man-Monkey, sir, as always *does* come again at the Big Bridge, ever since the man was drowned in the Cut."

Now this cannot be called a case of mere "survival" in the ordinary technical sense. It is no mere dead relic of the past; it is a living and influential belief of the present, just as much as the Burmese belief (*Folk-Lore*, vol. xxi., p. 371), that "a man may turn into a tiger in the evening without any fuss," is living and influential.

So, too, with other beliefs about the lower animals. "They're coorus craiturs, bees," said an old Shropshire woman to me, years ago. "There's a luck about 'em, for sartain." Every beekeeper can give you instances of the death of bees caused by omitting to inform them of human deaths. A farmer's wife whom I knew in Staffordshire forgot this precaution at the time of her husband's death in the summer of 1892, and found in the course of the next winter that only one hive was living. This she managed to save, not by feeding it, as might be supposed, but by changing the ownership. She formally *gave it to her little*

boy, the dead's man natural heir. The bees were contented, and remained. Another woman, in Shropshire, more prudent, was heard telling the bees of her husband's death thus,—“Bees, bees, the poor Maister's dead, so *now yo mun work for me.*” A member of the Folk-Lore Society, staying at West Malvern the summer before last, noticed a fine row of beehives in a cottage garden, and stopped to remark on them to the owner. After a little preliminary conversation she said,—“In some places I know they always tell the bees when there is a death in the family. Do they ever do so in this part of the country?” “Well 'm,” replied the woman, “we didn't tell them when my aunt died, but when my husband's father died we did, because, you see, he was in the house.” “A-ah!” ejaculated the lady, sympathetically, in the tone of one who had received new light on an important subject. “Yes, ma'am,” continued the good woman, pleased with the other's ready comprehension, “and it is surprising how they seem to understand you. They set up a loud sort of humming directly, quite a different noise to what they make at other times.”

Again, when an ague-stricken girl in the Lincolnshire Fens pinned a lock of her hair to an aspen, with the petition, “Aspen-tree, aspen-tree, I prithee to shak' an' shiver i'stead o' me;”⁷ when an old woodman in the same county humbly asked leave of the elder before he ventured to cut it;⁸ when a boy in Needwood Forest shrieked with fright when someone burnt elder boughs, (which, there, are forbidden fuel), lest “the Devil should be down the chimney in a minute,” (here we have a real “taboo” with its magico-religious sanction); when in the same district orders were given to refrain from burning fern, lest it should cause inconvenient rain; when hawthorn boughs are brought into the house on Ascension Day to preserve it from

⁷ Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties etc.*, p. 150.

⁸ *County Folklore*, vol. v. (Lincolnshire), p. 20.

lightning, because "under a thorn our Saviour was born";⁹ when your gardener, as in some counties, will only sow parsley on Good Friday to ensure the growth of the seed, or, as in others, declines to transplant it, lest it should cause a death in the family;¹⁰—these and countless other such cases are not "survivals." They are matters of genuine honest belief in what the people think to be actually true. Whether it be a belief in occult properties and powers, in a mysterious association with higher beings, in the historic truth of myths, or in imaginary natural laws of cause and effect, makes little difference. The point is that the belief is living and influential, prompting to action; and, alien though it may be to the culture of the more advanced classes of the nation, it is part of the native home-grown culture of the people who held it.

While we cannot, then, say that there is no living belief in European folklore, neither can we say that there is no survival in savagery. Take, for example, the ceremonial reluctance that must be shown by the bride in the marriage rites of almost every country, no matter how free an agent she may have been in her choice of a husband. Whether this actually originated in marriage by capture, or whether it be only the formal expression of natural feminine timidity, it is surely a survival nowadays, wherever women are permitted to exercise their freewill in the matter. The *couvade*, when it is kept up with no active belief to motive it, the taboo on speaking to a mother-in-law for which no *raison d'être* in existing custom has ever been discovered, are survivals from a forgotten state of things.¹¹ We constantly hear of "traces" of mother-right among patrilineal peoples, and "traces" of totemism among non-totemic peoples. What are these but survivals, relics of a forgotten and unrecorded

⁹ *Folk-Lore*, vol. vii., pp. 380-1.

¹⁰ *Shropshire Folklore*, pp. 248-9.

¹¹ Dr. Frazer thinks that the mother-in-law taboo marks a revolt against a former system of group-marriage, in which a man's mother-in-law was his possible wife (*Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii., p. 323, vol. iii., p. 247).

past? The most we can say is, I think, that survivals *occur* in the customs of savagery and *predominate* in those of Europe.

I need not further labour the point of the essential solidarity of folklore, whether of its component elements,—belief, custom, and story,—or of its two great phases, savage and civilized. But I think you will feel with me that it is an important point, because the way we regard the subject must affect our method of studying it. If we regard folklore not as a miscellaneous collection of items to be put together like a jig-saw puzzle, but as a *whole* to be examined and analysed, we shall approach it differently. We shall try to distinguish the normal and essential features of a rite or custom from variations and accretions, we shall note which of the constituent elements of folklore enter into it, and which are wanting. We shall take environment into consideration, and, if survival be present, we shall try, (as I have urged before), to discover what it is a survival *from*? Some time or other that survival must have fitted into its environment. What was that environment? What period, what state of society does the survival survive from? We must, (I repeat once more), discriminate between survivals from mediæval times and survivals from totemic times, survivals of barbarism and survivals of outworn cultures.

I know that not every one is willing to admit that the latter form of survival exists, but I cannot for my own part see how it can be denied that cases of it do occur, as well as the converse, but more familiar, case of archaic survivals embedded in modern practice. How else, but as a survival from ancient or imported culture, can we account for the common use of the pentacle as a protective charm in Wales, for finding an old Indian squaw reckoning with archaic Celtic numerals used in Cumberland for counting sheep, and for hearing Jamaican negroes singing fragments of an old English ballad embedded in an

African folk-tale?¹² Take folk-medicine for example. Old-fashioned village doctresses all over England will tell you that you should never touch a hurt or sore with the fore-finger, because that finger is poisonous. The middle finger must always be used. "Any doctor will tell you so," one informant assured me; and once upon a time this was true enough. The use of the *digitus veneficus* was prohibited in all early medical treatises.¹³ Now it only survives among the folk.¹⁴

Again,—in 1902 a man was tried at Blackburn for stealing a valuable dog, with intent to kill it, boil its body, and use the fat as an ointment for rheumatism.¹⁵ More recently, an Irish friend volunteered the information to me that in Connaught the fat of young puppies (known as dog-grease) was esteemed a valuable remedy for rheumatism; and only last October I saw, (and unfortunately omitted to take note of), a newspaper article on dogs in Germany, in which it was incidentally mentioned that dogs there are liable to be killed for the sake of their fat, which is used for the cure of consumption. In another English case, which occurred in 1885, a woman was found to have killed a newly-born puppy, boiled it, and given the broth to her weakly infant to strengthen it.¹⁶ Signor Busutil gives a recipe for the use of puppy broth in Malta as a popular remedy for the ill-effect of fright, which seems to be a common malady there.¹⁷

Now if we go back to the sixteenth century and to the autobiography of Ambroise Paré,¹⁸ the great French surgeon, the most advanced and innovating practitioner

¹² Trevelyan, *Folklore and Folk-Stories of Wales*, p. 234; Lucas, *Studies in Nidderdale*; Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, pp. xxxvi., 26, 286.

¹³ Unfortunately I have lost the reference to this.

¹⁴ Let me point out in passing that this is not a matter of magic or of religion, but, like the prohibition to use the willow rod for chastisement, a precautionary measure based on a supposed natural property of the finger.

¹⁵ Mr. Percy Manning in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xiv., pp. 85-6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* ¹⁷ Miss Eyre, *Ibid.*, p. 85. ¹⁸ Cited in *Confessio Medici*, p. 65.

of his day, we find him obtaining from a brother surgeon at Turin an invaluable recipe for a "balm" for dressing gunshot wounds, which previously, be it remembered, had been treated with boiling oil. This "balm" was made with "young whelps just born" and earthworms preserved in Venice turpentine, boiled together in oil of lilies. Here, then, we find the newest and most approved leechcraft of *that* day surviving in the folk-medicine of *this*,—and notice that the original recipe came from Piedmont and was carried to Paris. In the same way, no doubt, it travelled to Germany, England, and Ireland, and probably wherever else soldiers fought in the making of modern Europe and surgeons dressed their wounds.

Another medical example. Here, there, and everywhere in the British Isles, first one folklorist and then another stumbles on a variant of the old toothache charm, to be written and carried about the patient, which runs somewhat as follows,—“Peter sat on a marble stone. Jesus Christ said,—‘What aileth thee, Peter?’ Peter saith,—‘Lord, my teeth acheth so that I can neither go, lie, nor stand.’ Jesus saith unto him,—‘Follow me, and whosoever weareth these lines for my sake, he shall never have the toothache.’” Latin versions of this popular charm occur in Anglo-Saxon and mediæval medical treatises as formulæ prescribed by approved authority.¹⁰ Here, again, the folklore remedy of the present day was the property of the learned in times past, and the medium by which it was disseminated was obviously an intrusive culture, namely the ecclesiastical culture of the Middle Ages.

Turn now to folk-literature, (if I may so call it). The same “intrusive culture” must be responsible for the currency of the myth related in the *Bitter Withy* ballad already referred to. The story of the Child Christ making a bridge of sunbeams and his playfellows failing to

¹⁰ Cockayne, *Leechdoms, etc. of early England*; J. F. Payne, *English Medicine in Anglo-Saxon Times*, p. 129.

follow Him over it, is a variant of a far less poetical one related in the Apocryphal Gospels, in which He sits, or hangs a jug, on a sunbeam, and His companions fail to do so. The part taken by the mothers of both is wanting. A French prose version of this story was rendered into Southern English rhymed verse about the year 1300.²⁰ Thus we can actually trace the steps by which the story from being locked up in books and in a dead language came within the ken of the English folk. Put into ballad-form, furnished, ballad-fashion, with a dramatic plot and climax, and adapted to their own belief and practice by the quaint suggestion of the maternal anger and the whipping with willow, it has been incorporated, as we have seen, into the native traditional lore.

Nothing, in fact, illustrates the story of survival better than the history of the European ballad, as told in three recent essays by Professor W. P. Ker.²¹ Before giving you the results of his investigations, however, let me make an attempt,—a very rash attempt, I am afraid!—to state exactly what a ballad is. I should define it as a lyrical narrative poem preserved by oral tradition, of which the characteristic features are that it is composed in rhyming stanzas and has a definite plot,—just a few incidents leading up to a climax, simply narrated, with conventional epithets, —green grass, red gold, fair maids, and the like,—with the same idea repeated several times in varying phrases,

²⁰ Only one extant Ms. contains this story, so Miss L. Toulmin Smith informs me, namely, that known as the Laurentian Codex of the Pseudo-Matthew, printed among Tischendorf's Vatican Texts of the 11th century; but it occurs also in a Latin History of the Infancy, from which the French prose is taken. See Prof. Gerould in *Publications of the Modern Languages Association of America*, vol. xxxiii., i., pp. 141-167, and cf. *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, vol. iv., pp. 29-47, where detailed notes on the ballad will be found. See also Mr. F. Sidgwick in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xix., p. 190.

²¹ "On the Danish Ballads," *Scottish Historical Review*, July, 1904, and July, 1908; *On the History of the Ballads, 1100-1500*, (*Proceedings of the British Academy*) vol. iv., (1910).

like the variations of a melody, and, lastly, in the most perfect and typical examples of the ballads, with a recurring refrain or burden to guide the movements of the dancers. For the ballad, as the etymology of the word shows, was originally a vocal accompaniment of dancing.

Early in the twelfth century,—that great century of new impulses, new movements, new studies, and reformed institutions, when society was knitting itself together again after the chaos of the Dark Ages,—early in that century, so Professor Ker tells us, preachers in different parts of Northern Europe began to denounce a new fashion of dancing and singing in churches and churchyards which had lately spread from France. The words of some of the *caroles* which they held up to reprobation have been preserved and prove to be neither more nor less than *refrains*, such as ballad-lovers know so well. The earliest French *caroles* seem to have been purely lyrical songs, without any narrative plot, and the French *rondes*²² preserve this early form to the present day; but narrative soon followed, and it was in this shape that the ballad spread to other countries.

The traditional ballad is common to France, the Peninsula (with the single exception of Castile), Piedmont, Germany, Scandinavia, and the English-speaking parts of the British Isles. It does not appear ever to have penetrated into the region of Celtic culture, and in Southern Europe it stops short at Tuscany, where the popular songs are purely lyrical. The limited and well-defined area which it covers thus makes the task of investigation fairly possible.

The place where above all others the ballad took root and

²² *Sur le pont d'Avignon on y danse, tout en ronde*, and so forth. Our children's singing games,—“Here we go round the mulberry bush,” “London Bridge is broken down,” etc.,—are evidently closely related to these *rondes*. Some of them are still played by adults here and there. I have myself joined in “Bobby Bingo” at a “choir-party” of grown-up people in Derbyshire.

flourished was Scandinavia. The French lyrical dancing game came north just when what Professor Ker calls the "Viking industry" was passing away and the Scandinavian kingdoms were aspiring to enter into the comity of European nations. It carried all before it. The old native alliterative unrhymed verse,²⁸ the old native literary culture, came to an end. The foreign culture planted in its place grew and flourished, and took on new and finer forms in its adopted home. The themes of the Danish ballads were not confined to the wandering tales,—the Singing Bone, the Elfin Lover, the hero poisoned by his sweetheart,—which the ballad has carried with it wherever it has penetrated. Political events, gallant feats of arms, and tragedies of the countryside, in Denmark and the sister-countries, were celebrated in ballads, which there "became the form and vehicle of original heroic poetry," and the Danish ballads, so say those who are conversant with the Northern tongues, surpass all others in fire and beauty.

How is such a complete and extraordinary revolution to be accounted for,—the native form of poetry discarded and the foreign style adopted in its place? Professor Ker attributed it partly to the psychological moment at which the novel fashion was introduced, but mainly to the social conditions of the environment in which it was planted. The old Northern system of land tenure favoured the growth of a class of freeholders neither nobles nor peasants, but, as we should say, untitled gentry. Early Danish society was thus largely made up of small landowners, and was accordingly possessed of more solidarity and therewith more unity of culture than that of highly feudalized lands. "It is possible," says Professor Ker, "for a nation to be gentle all through, 'the Quality' not a distinct class from the Quantity." However this may be, Danish historians are

²⁸ These, one fancies, can never have been sung in chorus, much less accompanied by dancing, but must always have been the property of the solitary skald or gleeman with his harp.

agreed that the ballads were originally, and for long, the pastime of the gentry. The Farøe Islanders, in their ballad-dances, have preserved what was the favourite amusement in the mediæval Danish country houses. Certain it is that when, in the sixteenth century, the current traditional ballads were at length committed to writing, it was by Danish ladies, and in the most important case at the instigation of the queen. Moreover, mediæval Denmark had scarcely any poetry besides the ballads. She had no literary poets, no Dante, no Chaucer. So the best poetic feeling of the country found expression in the shape of the ballad, which was the oral literature of a nation, not of a class.

When the old social order of Denmark passed away, the living original ballad passed away with it, and ballad-poetry is now but a survival,—the survival of what once was culture, the remains of which are gathered up by the folklore collector from the mouths of fishermen and peasants in lonely huts and obscure corners,—beautiful relics, but relics only.

But, long ere this stage was reached, the ballad-poetry of Scandinavia crossed the North Sea,—(thanks no doubt to the seafaring and commercial habits of the Northmen),—and found a congenial home in the Lowlands of Scotland.²⁴ Something in the rough, simple unlettered life of the Borders, resembling that of its earlier home, formed a suitable *nidus* for its growth. It became part of the life of the country; it was used to record local events and tragedies as it had been on the other side of the sea. As it travelled southwards into England it lost much of its original grace and fragrance. Presently it was no longer

²⁴ Professor Ker points out that among other similarities the Scandinavian, Scottish, and English ballads all favour the *double* refrain, while in France the refrain is only single, and in Germany is usually wanting altogether.

So far, I have given the Professor's views,—faithfully, I hope!—but I alone am responsible for what follows.

accompanied by dancing;²⁵ it dropped its characteristic refrain. It degenerated in the hands of professional ballad-writers; it got printed on broadsheets; it travelled in pedlars' packs. Like the Last Minstrel it

"tuned to please a peasant's ear
The harp a King had loved to hear."

Divorced from the Customs to which it belonged, it became a dead relic, "a mere survival."

Incidentally, the history of the genesis and decay of the ballad-poetry of the North bears on another important point,—the place of the *racial element* in folklore. Though the geographical area covered by the ballads is not racial, but cultural, the racial element is not absent. We have the French setting the fashion to their neighbour-nations in styles of song and dance, as they did in architecture, in arms, and in chivalry, and as they do now in cookery and costume. In matters of method, France has always been the leader of Europe. Then we have the Northern nations exhibiting the special trait predicated of them by Professor Gwatkin, lecturing at Cambridge some ten or twelve years ago, (I quote from memory),—"They were not a people of marked original genius, but they were the best of learners, and soon bettered their masters." The occasion of his observation was the rapid transformation of the rude Northmen who settled on the French coast in the ninth and tenth centuries into the polished Norman chivalry of the eleventh. The "Norman" architecture which they brought with them into England speaks to this day of the mutual relations of France and Scandinavia, and Professor Ker's story of the connection between the French and

²⁵ Ballad-dancing, however, survived in England down to the reign of Elizabeth, if not later. "Ballets or daunces are songs which being sung to a dittie may likewise be daunced," Morley's *Plaine and easie introduction to Practical Musicke*, 1597. "The infinite number of Ballads set to sundry pleasant and delightful tunes by amusing and witty composers, with country dances fitted thereto," Butler's *Principles of Musicke*, 1636. (Quoted, Harold Simpson, *A Century of Ballads*, pp. 4, 5).

Danish ballads is unintentional evidence to the same effect. It is evident that race gives the ballads their colour, though culture gave them form and social environment vitality.

One more group of survivals must be mentioned before I close. It is one which has so far received little notice from collectors, and I am the more anxious to draw attention to it because it is one into which any resident in England can enquire for himself in his own locality, and because the details which would assuredly come to light in the course of such an enquiry would be of the utmost service in compiling the projected great edition of *Brand*. I refer to the Annual Wakes as they are called in the northern counties, known as Feasts in the southern counties, and Revels in the extreme south and west, still held in the majority of country villages on the anniversary of the patron saint of the village church. Few perhaps realize how many interesting features are connected with these local festivals, —the special viands prepared for them, the special sports celebrated at them, the dates (often reckoned by Old Style) on which they are held, and the agricultural seasons with which they coincide. One such wake was brought to my notice for the first time last autumn, that, namely, at West Witton in Wensleydale (Yorkshire), which begins on St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24th) and lasts several days. On the last day of the wake the children drag an effigy, supposed to represent the saint, up and down the village, and finally throw it on to a bonfire, shouting the following rhyme:

“ At Burskill Beck he broke his neck.
At Wadham's End he couldn't fend.
At Birskill End he made his end.
At Penhill Crags he tore his rags.
At Hunter's Thorn he blew his horn.
At Capplebank Stee he broke his knee.”

These names seem to be parish boundaries. The rite

is called "burning owd Barle."²⁶ Obviously it cannot be accounted for by any post-Christian form of cult. It is a survival of something earlier, which has outlasted more than one set of beliefs, so that we have here in the Church-Wake an archaic survival and a survival from culture, meeting and coalescing in a single rite.

So great is the difference between Then and Now that I need hardly, I think, enter into any defence of the use of the word "survival" with reference to these old church dedications. What significance have the names of St. Pancras and St. Vedast to the ordinary Londoner of the present day? Even the best-known and best-authenticated saints are now, for the most part, regarded from a point of view widely different from that of the men who placed our ancient churches under their protecting care. I should like to say a great deal as to these subsidiary cults of mediæval Christendom, but I must not detain you too long. I will only point out that the dedication of a church usually reveals the approximate date of the establishment of a site of Christian worship on the spot, together with the special form and bias of the newly introduced cult. There were fashions in saints in the Middle Ages, as there were in the architecture and in armour. The Roman and Celtic missions, the British and the Anglo-Saxon Church, all had their special saints. The Norman Conquest introduced others, and the Crusades others again. Even the reasons which determined the choice of a particular saintly guardian may sometimes be discovered by local investigation.

On the other side, the barbaric or archaic side of the survival, I will remind you that we have historical evidence that the feasts of Pagandom were of set policy taken over and

²⁶ The authority for these details is only the local guide-book (*The Green Dale of Wensley*, by Edmund Bogg: Elliot Stock, 1909, p. 156), and it is not stated whether the custom is still observed. Any one who would make a pilgrimage to Wensleydale next August, and investigate the matter on local-historical and economic lines would deserve the thanks of all folklorists.

adopted by the Church. As a matter of fact, local annual feasts which we cannot but call pre-Christian still linger, independently of churches or parishes, in the well-dressings of the north of England and the hill-wakes of my own special county, Shropshire.²⁷ There was usually some special rite to be performed at these hill-wakes, and even sometimes a mythic pretext for the ascent of the hill. At Pontesford Hill wakes, which were kept up on Palm Sunday within living memory, and perhaps linger still, the excuse was the search for a *golden arrow*, dropped by a nameless king in battle, and only to be found by the predestined person, upon which event some curse was to be removed, or some great estate was to change hands. The story varies. A "haunted yew-tree" grew,—no doubt still grows,—upon the hill, and the first spray gathered from it on this day was held to be a talisman against all misfortune for the year, and, if any one could run down the steep side of the hill and dip a finger into a pool at the foot, reputed to be bottomless, he or she would inevitably marry the first person of the opposite sex encountered after the feat. I must not omit to add the historical fact that a battle was really fought on or beneath Pontesford Hill in the year 661, between the West Saxons and the Welsh. There is a Saxon or British camp on the hill, and there is some earthwork or other early monument on the site of, I think, every hill-wake I have heard of.

Into some such environment as this were the saintly patrons imported. The hill-wakes, whose *raison d'être* in some vanished social system is now absolutely forgotten, and probably undiscoverable, are now mere survivals, if indeed they still survive at all. The church-wakes, wanting the living religious belief which once animated them, are also only survivals. But the way in which, even in survival,

²⁷ I know of but two or three hill-wakes in other counties, but there must surely be others still unrecorded.

they show remnants of the imported Belief interwoven into the groundwork of native Custom is to my mind an additional testimony to the Essential Unity of Folklore.

This, then, is the view that it seems to me the Society should endeavour to set before the world,—that Folklore is not “a fortuitous concourse of atoms,” but an entity, the product of the human mind, made up of three complementary elements,—Belief, Custom, and Story,—and liable to be influenced and varied by external circumstances. Racial idiosyncrasies, geographical isolation, economic changes, migration, warfare, conquest, slavery, and the peaceful importation of foreign culture, all affect and influence the folklore of individual peoples. When any of its component elements are dropped, the remainder constitute what we call a survival. Custom may lose its *raison d'être* or its animating belief, and survive as a mere fossil. Belief, unsupported by social custom, may still persist as a living principle of action. Both may assimilate new beliefs and new customs so thoroughly that it requires close analysis to distinguish the new from the old. In varying degrees these phenomena are common to the folklore of both civilised and uncivilised peoples.

Students have made some progress in ascertaining what causes folklore to decay, but what causes the surviving elements to survive? What vacuum does the survival fill? What need of human nature, craving to be supplied, keeps it alive through the ages? What human idiosyncrasy preserves it when it has reached a fossil state? These are questions not answered yet, scarcely even approached. They remain as a problem for the future.

CHARLOTTE SOPHIA BURNE.

NOTE I. DANCING BALLADS.

The following extracts from private letters written by a lady then resident in the Farøe Islands may be interesting. The writer's name is suppressed for obvious reasons.

"November, 1901.

"I have given my party. Fifty people attended, thirty-eight of them 'grown-ups.' It began at 7.30 and ended at 2.15 a.m., starting with a trifle of 165 verses about a certain 'Earl of Engelland' and his two sons. You could have heard my party half a mile, and it was supposed to be a very fine entertainment. We had coffee, *Jul-kage*, Scotch biscuits, tobacco, cigars, and sweets, and I doubt if any other church-capital ever gave a dance to all the youth of the city for the sum of fourteen shillings! The gentlemen all wore their hats, and most of them neck-mufflers. 'Kissing games' followed from 1 o'clock to 2.15, and there was one very pretty figure-dance, when twenty of the gentlemen's *garters* were used. Altogether it was a great success."

"Nov. 23rd, 1902.

"I wish you could have attended a large wedding in — that I saw last week. It lasted 50 hours, and dancing went on about 46 hours out of the fifty. I saw one *great-grandfather*, grandfather to the bride, dancing vigorously the old Danish ballad 'There lived two Earls in Engelland,' 165 verses long. He was 86 years old. Most of the dance ballads were old Danish *kempeviser*, but there were also Farósk ones,—*The Long Serpent*, Sigmund's ballad, *Jakoba Mon*, one of the Charlemagne ballads, and perhaps eight or nine more during the whole time of dancing."

In another letter the writer states that the dances cease during the season of Lent.

NOTE II. THE DEDICATIONS OF CHURCHES.

The Roman Mission under Augustine introduced the veneration of the Apostles. The names of St. Peter, St. Andrew, etc., with the local Roman saints Gregory and Lawrence, mark their foundations. St. Mary and All Saints are of every date and school. The Celtic Church revered its own holy men, as we see to this day both in the dedications and the place-names of Wales and Cornwall. The Anglo-Saxon Church, later, followed to some extent in its steps, and commemorated,—(to mention only a few),—St. Cuthbert and St. Chad, St. Hilda, St. Edith, and St. Mildred. St. Leonard, protector of captives, and St. Giles, patron of cripples, the

woodland hermit saints of France, are among those who came in with the Norman Conquest. St. Nicholas of Myra, St. George of Cappadocia, St. Margaret of Antioch, St. Katharine of Alexandria, and others, bear witness to the influence of the Crusades. Dedications to the Holy Trinity are not older than the twelfth century, when the festival of Trinity Sunday was first instituted. Before that, Whitsunday had governed the Calendar to the end of the ecclesiastical year. Sometimes part of the fabric of a church suggests an older date than the dedication. This is likely to be due to re-consecration after alterations, a ceremony which was held to be necessary if the site of the high altar were changed. When this occurred, the original patron saint was sometimes deserted for one more popular at the time of the rebuilding.

The following cases will suffice to exemplify the manner of the distribution and growth of the devotion to the saints. The church of the immense mother-parish of Stoke-on-Trent (Staffordshire), mentioned in Domesday Book, is dedicated to St. Peter. It is situated on the river-side, where doubtless the ancient stockade from which the place appears to take its name once guarded the passage of the Trent, and which would obviously be a convenient centre for missionary labours. High above it, on the hill-sides, stand the daughter-churches, St. Margaret of Wolstanton and St. Giles of Newcastle-under-Lyme,—(i.e. "under" Lyme Forest). The other churches of the Five Towns are more or less modern. I was lately told* of the parallel case of South Stoke in Oxfordshire on the banks of the Thames, with the little daughter-church, or rather chapelry, of Woodcote, on the uplands of the old Chiltern Forest, four miles away. South Stoke is dedicated to St. Andrew, the fisherman, "the first missionary," brother of St. Peter,—Woodcote, to St. Leonard. A long straight trackway across the common, (unenclosed down to 1853), connects the one with the other. It is called the *burying-way*, for there is no right of burial at Woodcote, though there is a churchyard. (In this connection was mentioned the common popular belief that the passage of a funeral procession confers a right-of-way for ever after.) Within the memory of the present generation a great fair for sheep and cattle

*By Mr. E. H. Binney, of Oxford, from information of the Rev. H. G. Nind, Rector of South Stoke with Woodcote and himself a native of the place.

was annually held in what is now the recreation ground near the churchyard, on the Monday after the 16th November. (The 6th November is St. Leonard's Day; the 16th probably represents Old Style.) It was killed by the rinderpest epidemic of 1866, but before that the then rector, (the father of the present), had put a stop to the penning of the sheep in the churchyard, much to the discontent of the farmers, who considered they were being deprived of a right.

It is very common to find that Feasts or Wakes are dated by "Old Style," eleven days later than the present, or "Gregorian," calendar. Great popular resentment was displayed when the new calendar was introduced in 1753. The people fancied they had been somehow robbed of a rightful possession, and "Give us back our eleven days" became an election cry. But it is very curious to find a reminiscence of the discontent at the present day, "lingering on," writes my nephew, the Rev. R. V. H. Burne, curate of Slough, under date April 7th, 1909, "in the brain of a genuine old countryman who can remember sickles, and the parson's tithe-sheaf, and shoeing cattle with leather to drive them to the London market. I was talking to him the other day, and he seemed to have a grievance against "the new calendar." "Oliver Cromwell or someone" took away eleven days, and the seasons never altered to suit, and so you find that you never get April weather until April 11th, because April 1-11 really belongs to March. Old Michaelmas Day, too, used to be October 11th. They have altered it now to September 29th. He remembered taking a house on Old Michaelmas Day for twelve calendar months, and they wanted him to go out on New Michaelmas Day. But he wouldn't go! They used to begin spring sowing at the same time as the parson began his Lent sermons. Yes, Lent varied a good deal, but if you started when the parson did you weren't far wrong. (His niece explained that they thought it brought a kind of blessing on the crops.)"

The spring wheat, in Shropshire, used to be known as the "Lent tillin'," (G. F. Jackson, *Shropshire Wordbook*).

This is a divergence from Wakes, but perhaps not an uninteresting example of "survival."

BUSHONGO MYTHOLOGY.

BY E. TORDAY.

(Read at Meeting, November 16th, 1910.)

THE Bushongo are a people better known under the name of Bakuba, a sobriquet given to them by their neighbours and meaning "the people of the lightning"; strictly speaking they ought to be called Bashi Bushongo, *i.e.* "the sons of Bushongo." The population of the kingdom of Bushongo cannot much exceed one hundred thousand, and is composed of tribes originating from various distant parts of Africa. The backbone of the kingdom is formed by the Bambala, who originate from the Soudan, having immigrated from the neighbourhood of lake Tchad; the western part of the population comes from the Upper Congo; and in the south we find a branch of the Baluba, whose original home was somewhere near Lake Nyassa. This diversity of origin accounts for a corresponding diversity of tenets, although to a certain extent there has been an interchange of customs and beliefs.

The version of their mythology given by the Moaridi, the Bambala elder who is the official historian of the kingdom, is as follows:—In the beginning the world consisted only of water, and there was absolute darkness. In this chaos Bumba, the Chembe (God), reigned alone; he was like a man in form, but of enormous size, and white in colour. One day he vomited the sun, the moon, and the stars, and under the influence of the sun the water began

to dwindle away and sandbanks to appear above the surface. Again Bumba vomited, and brought forth the leopard, the crested eagle, the crocodile, a small fish, the tortoise, the lightning, the scarabeus, and the goat. Next he vomited a great number of men, but only one of them was white like himself; this was Loko Yima, the founder of the royal family. The men and animals thus created took up the task of peopling the world, vomiting mammalia, birds, reptiles, fishes, insects, and plants. The lightning soon began to cause much mischief, so Bumba exiled it to heaven, whence it may come only rarely to the earth, so as to enable the people to obtain fire from the trees it has struck.

Bumba then gave every village its particular tabu. This tabu is called the "ancestral prohibitions," as distinguished from the moral code, which is called "the royal prohibitions." This moral code is condensed into twenty prohibitions; these prescribe that the king, parents, and the elders are to be honoured, that the life and property of friend and foe are to be respected *even in time of war*, that an enemy in need must be helped, and, in one word, that a noble life must be lived.

At this time the Bushongo lived near a large lake, and this lake contained palm wine instead of water. The story goes that one day a woman defiled the lake, and in consequence of this the palm wine disappeared and in its place there was a deep ravine in which there grew four varieties of young trees, that had never been seen before. When these trees grew up to a great height, a pygmy discovered how to obtain palm wine by tapping them.

The first king, Loko Yima, was succeeded by his daughter, who taught the people how to build houses. Her son and successor was Woto, who gave people personal names, and to whom the use of iron was revealed by Bumba. He introduced circumcision and the ordeal by poison.

Woto is said to have committed incest with one of his



BUSHONGO HUNTING FETISH "TAMBO."

sisters, and after some time she bore him a son, who was called Nyimi Lele. When their shame became known, popular indignation reached such a pitch that Woto bade his son leave the country, and Nyimi Lele travelled to the south and became the founder of the Bashilele nation. This did not suffice to assuage popular feeling, and Woto at last decided to leave the country. Before doing so he took revenge on his persecutors by causing their fowls to die and by making their millet rot. Finally he tried to appoint some man of no origin as his successor, but was outwitted by the rightful heir, Nyimi Longa. Before starting on his journey, Woto set fire to his village, and it was his wife Ipopa who invented the use of vegetable salt, by tasting accidentally some of the ashes.

Nyimi Longa was succeeded by his nephew, Minge Bengela, under whom the Bushongo nation emigrated. The production of fire by friction was revealed to a man named Kerikeri, who lived in the time of the twenty-seventh ruler; how the secret of it was given away by him to the beautiful daughter of the king, is one of the prettiest stories of Bushongo mythology.

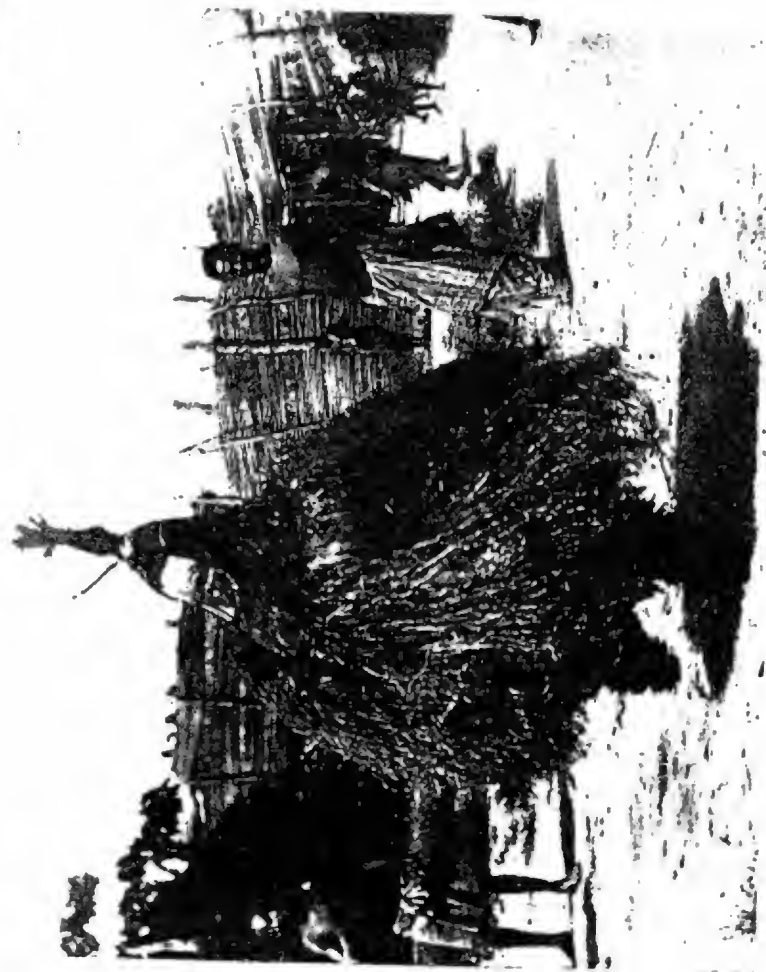
The initiation ceremonies were instituted in order that the boys might not brave their parents, and might be taught to fear neither foe, nor beast, nor fire, nor water, nor ghosts. An account is given of the invention of the bull-roarer, which is used in connection with these ceremonies.

The second version is that of the Bangongo, the people who originate from the Upper Congo. Here we find from the beginning a complete world, only inhabited by an aged couple. These old people lived on the banks of a great water, when one day the sky suddenly opened and there appeared an incarnation of the divinity,—(according to Bangongo ideas, God is intellect; thus an idiot is a godless man, and a great artist a man full of God),—called Bomazi, who predicted to the old people that a child would

be born to them. This happened, and when the child, a girl, grew up, Bomazi married her. She bore him five children, each one of whom became the ruler of a people. Two of these children, Moelo and Woto, were twins. The son of the former committed adultery with the three wives of the latter, and, as his father refused to banish him, the incensed Woto left the country for ever. He had not left the village for more than a few days when his brother had cause to regret his departure, for there was no sun, and Moelo could not see, when he took a wife, if she were pretty or not; nor, if he plucked a fruit, if it were ripe or unripe; nor, if a man approached him, if he were friend or foe. So he called three of his men, and bade them go forth and find Woto and request him to give some remedy for the darkness. "In order that your mission may be successful," he said, "it is imperative that you should not quarrel on the way nor pause on your journey to fish." But one of the messengers *did* stop to fish, and quarrelled with the two others, and all three returned unsuccessfully. So Moelo punished and retained the quarrelsome man, and sent his dog in his stead with the others. With the animal's help they found Woto, who gave them three birds,—the Natal cuckoo, the cock, and the weaver bird,—and bade them let these loose in their village and then go to sleep. "When you hear the cuckoo, do not move; when you hear the cock call, do not move; but, when you hear the weaver bird, leave your huts and see." They returned and followed his advice, and, when the third bird sang *swa swa swa*, they all came out, and there shone the sun in all its glory.

At this time disease and death were unknown, but a man with a deformed tongue invented them. To escape him, the whole tribe emigrated; but the mischievous man followed them, and since this men have been subject to illness and death.

The Bangongo have a story, somewhat similar to the Bambala tale, of a lake of palm wine, relating how people



BUSHONGO "NYENGE" MASK.

learned to drink water, how the lake, whence they used to fetch their supply, was polluted by an obstinate woman, and how the palm-trees grew in consequence of this. The invention of iron is attributed to ghosts, who made their revelation to a man in his dream. It is said of Woto that, while travelling in the forest, the pygmies sprung out of the crevices of old trees in consequence of his magic incantation.

The above account, like the Bambala mythology, has, of course, not been related to me as a continuous story; both have come to me in the shape of short stories, and it has been my work to put them together. Anachronisms are frequent, but I did not think it wise to try to have them explained to me, as questions of this kind invariably put the story-teller in a bad temper. I cannot now go into the details of the Baluba mythology. It may be sufficient to state that it resembles in its main points the account given of other Baluba peoples.

Mythology may contain a good deal of real information, however much clothed in fiction, for him who knows how to read between the lines; for example, the Bushongo legends have enabled me to fix the ancestral home of these peoples. In this, of course, ethnography and physical anthropology are also to be considered, and it must give pleasure to the lovers of folklore to find that the cultural, linguistic, and physical features have all corroborated the evidence of mythology. But the stories I have related may possibly contain even more than mere information about the ancestral home of these tribes; they may perchance give us an indication as to the civilizations with which this people, occupying culturally such a high position amongst Africans, have in remote times come into contact. History tells us that a great king of this people has travelled widely to the west, and this might lead to the supposition that European influence accounts for the cosmogony and the occurrence of very un-African patterns in their art. As

for the former I must leave this an open question, but for the latter there is strong evidence against such an assumption. The most un-African shapes are found amongst tribes related to the Bushongo, who have never been under the influence of the traveller king, and who are the most conservative and most averse to strangers of all people I have ever met. Furthermore, there is evidence that in other parts of Africa the legends of the creation equally resemble the stories of Genesis, and express the same ideas, put into a negro shape. I call your attention, in connection with this, to the tenth chapter of Mr. Dennett's *Nigerian Studies*.

There is another interesting fact to be considered. According to tradition the divine ancestor of the tribe was a white man, and this might suggest that it was some North-African Mussulman who was the founder of the nation. This is not more absurd than the fact that the rajah of Sarawak or the king of the Cocos islands should be Englishmen. But this again is difficult to bring into accordance with the fact that the loom was only introduced within historical times, viz. the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Then there is the man Woto. It cannot have failed to strike you that, differing quite considerably from each other, both accounts make Woto the moving spirit of the migration. In connection with him I must mention to you two incidents that impressed me greatly. One occurred in the country of the Bashilele, an independent branch of the Bushongo, where I could obtain no information of the past of these people owing to their reluctance to discuss these matters with the first white man they ever saw; so I threw out baits and mentioned names like Bumba, Etoch, and Moelo, but without the slightest effect; but, when I happened to name Woto, there was a general outcry of recognition.

The other puzzled me still more. The stories have been

told several times to me, and there were always some slight variations, omissions, or additions. But one sentence was never altered, was never forgotten, and was always told to me with an expression that clearly showed that special importance was attached to it. This was in connection with the incident when Woto meets the pygmies in the forest. They are always made to say, and that in the very same words,—“What a man! No men, howsoever strong they may be, may try to seize him. Women alone shall hold him captive.” There may be nothing remarkable in this; but, when it is repeated over and over again, and every informant uses the same terms, and all refuse to enter into explanations, it becomes as bad as a nightmare.

These Bushongo stories are only a small part of the legends preserved by them, and they have furthermore a remarkable treasure of interesting proverbs.

E. TORDAY.

COLLECTANEA.

SHILO: A DEVONSHIRE FOLK-TALE.

THE following tale was noted down from the recital of a Devonshire lady on July 20th, 1909. She learnt it from an old nurse who came from Ottery St. Mary about fifty years ago.

There was once a farmer walking through his fields thinking very sorrowfully of the bad times and how he should find means to pay his next rent. All at once he heard weeping and wailing, and a voice exclaiming,—“Oh dear, oh dear, I’ve lost my shilo! What shall I do, what shall I do, I’ve lost my shilo! Where’s my shilo, where’s my shilo? What shall I do?”

The farmer, looking over the hedge, saw a little wizened man, and, although he had never seen a pixy before, he knew it must be a pixy. “Poor little chap,” says he, “they zems to have their troubles as well as us mortals.”

Going on a little further through the fields, he came to some hayricks. Between two of the hayricks he espies a little brown bundle crying feebly, picks it up, and takes it home to his wife, who was very fond of children, not having any of her own. The old lady had got some hot toast and cider down by the fire warming for her husband against he came in. She took out some of the soaked bread and put it into the little baby’s mouth, which revived it very quickly. The old lady was delighted with the little brown baby, and wanted to keep it for her own; but during dinner her husband happened to mention that he had seen the poor old pixy crying for the loss of his shilo.

“You old fule,” says the old woman, “can’t ’ee put two and two together? If I’d only knawed ’bout thicky pixy avore, I

should'n a kept the cheeld so long. Make haste, put on your hat, and take the cheeld down to the old pixy, for if he knows us be keepin' un yer he'll lead us a pretty dance. You knows what ticklish little chaps they be."

The farmer hastened to put on his hat and wrap up the little child, who by this time was laughing and chirping merrily. The farmer went to the place where he had seen the pixy, found no traces of the little man, and returned home. His wife was very worried, although she cuddled and kissed the little baby, wishing all the time it were her own.

Late that evening the farmer again sallied forth with the baby wrapped up warmly, and to his great delight heard again the mournful wail,—“Where's my shilo? I've lost my shilo!”

He called out to the old man, who was quickly at his side, and in his great delight seized the baby and rushed off with it without thanking the farmer.

That night with their toast and cider the old couple bemoaned their fate at having kept the child so long, as they feared the pixies would be angry and pay them out. But to their great surprise next morning on coming down stairs they found the kitchen fire lit, the breakfast ready, and the house swept; and when the farmer went into the yard and fields he found the corn threshed, and the work that would have taken him the whole day all finished. And every morning they found that during the night every bit of the work of the farm had been done and of the house; so that they had to hire no labour, grew quite rich, and were happy ever after.

W. P. MERRICK.

A FOLKLORE SURVEY OF COUNTY CLARE (*continued from vol. xxi, p. 487*).

XI. *Charms, Amulets, and Magical Rites.*

Cursing Stones.—In some cases the use of the round stones generally,—but not by the peasantry,—called “cursing stones” is not for magical purposes, and there is often no belief in their efficacy for good or evil. For example, the rounded stones on

St. John's altar at Killone "Abbey," and those at Kinallia and Ross, appear to be used only as a rude rosary to keep count of the prayers and "rounds" offered at these shrines. At Killone the well and altar lie under old ash-trees at the end of a lake, with the gables and two east windows of the convent showing between the tall trunks (Plate III). On the altar lie, or rather lay, seven of the cake-like concretions found in the shale of the district; on my last visit I only saw five. These stones used to be moved, one at each "round," as the penitent went on the knees along the grassy slope and ended each time by prayer on the altar steps. At the lonely little oratory and cave of St. Colman MacDuach, under the high cliff of Kinallia in Glencolumbcille, we find several of these stones and a flat slab with two parallel shallow flutings, (each with one end rounded), lying on the altar (Plate IV.). At Ross, near Loop Head, numerous rounded stones from the neighbouring shingle beach lie on the altar in the Saints' church,—one of them hollowed like a shallow saucer. I have seen no religious rites at either of the latter churches, and so can tell nothing of the part played by these objects. Killeany church, near Lisdoonvarna, has a primitive altar, carefully built of large rude limestone blocks, in the graveyard, and on it lie several of the shale concretions.¹ I have seen other examples at Glenquin, Kilcredaun, and elsewhere.

The "bad member" of the group is the set of "cursing stones" at Kilmoon, between Killeany and Lisdoonvarna. They lie on a dry-stone wall under an old wind-bent tree at the holy well, adjoining the ruin in the field to the west of the church, and were brought to more than local knowledge some fifteen or sixteen years ago. A farmer was prosecuted by a beggar woman for beating and laming her. He put forward as his defence, (at petty sessions, I think, at Corofin), that "she swore to turn the stones of Kilmoon" against him. It was believed that, if a person went fasting to the place and did seven rounds "against the sun," turning each stone in the same unlucky direction, the mouth of the person against whom the stones were turned would be twisted

¹ See Plate V, reproduced here from Plate IX in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Ser. III. vol. vi, by kind permission of the Council of that body.

under his ear, and his face permanently distorted.² It is said that the magistrate, in consequence of the strong local belief in the possibility of such injury, regarded the farmer's act as one of *bona fide* self-defence, and advised him to end the grievance by satisfying the damaged would-be practitioner of the black art with a sum of money.

Sacrificing black cocks and beasts.—Besides the rites of the "cursing stones," avowedly malignant ceremonies have been performed at two, if not three, places in East Clare. At Carnelly, near Clare Castle, at an unknown period remote even in 1840, "a black cock, without a white feather," was offered to the Devil on the so-called "Druid's altar,"—two fallen pillars near an earthen ring beside the avenue,—to avenge the sacrificer on an enemy, but in this case it brought an equivalent misfortune on the sacrificer himself. The Duchess de Rovigo, an heiress of the last Stamer of Carnelly, used the story, combined with irrelevant family legends and pseudo-archæology, in a poem dated 1839, but I obtained it, as given above, from a more reliable source, her mother, in 1875 and 1882, as well as from my brothers and sisters, who heard it in "the forties." When I was at the dolmen near the house at Maryfort in 1869, an old servant, Mrs. Eliza Egan (*née* Armstrong), said to me,—“Don't play at that bad place where the dhrudes [druids], glory be to God !, offered black cocks to the Devil!” Possibly a legend like that at Carnelly hung round the place at that time, but I found none in later years. The third case, however, admits of no doubt. It occurred in 1879, not very far from the place last mentioned. A "black beast" was cut into quarters and offered at the four corners of a field to bring ill luck on the owners. It was locally believed to have been offered to Satan, but this was indignantly denied by the reputed offerers of the unhallowed sacrifice. I heard this from many persons in the immediate neighbourhood, (including one member of the family against whom the charm was directed), from 1879 onwards. Local feeling is, or was recently, so strong that I do not publish the names and fuller details in my possession.

²This rite is referred to by Sir Samuel Ferguson in *Lays of the Western Gael*,—"Daily in the mystic ring they turned the maledictive stones," ("Burial of King Cormac").

Amulets.—These are very rarely found in Clare, although their religious equivalents are common. An amber bead, used as a charm in childbirth, was long preserved at Ennis (Plate VI). It bore in ogham characters "L.M.C.B.D.V.," which, as Prof. R. A. S. Macalister notes,³ closely corresponds to an ogham inscription on a stone near Fahan, County Kerry, viz. "L.M.C.B.T.M.," (as T is equivalent to D, and V partially to Mh), (Plate IV). The letters are probably the initials of a formula or prayer like those on religious medals. Dr. G. U. MacNamara appositely quotes from the *Homilies* of St. Eloi of Limoges, (born *circa* 588), "let no woman hang amber round her neck...or have recourse either to enchanters...or to engravers of amulets," and "do not tie strings round the necks of women."⁴

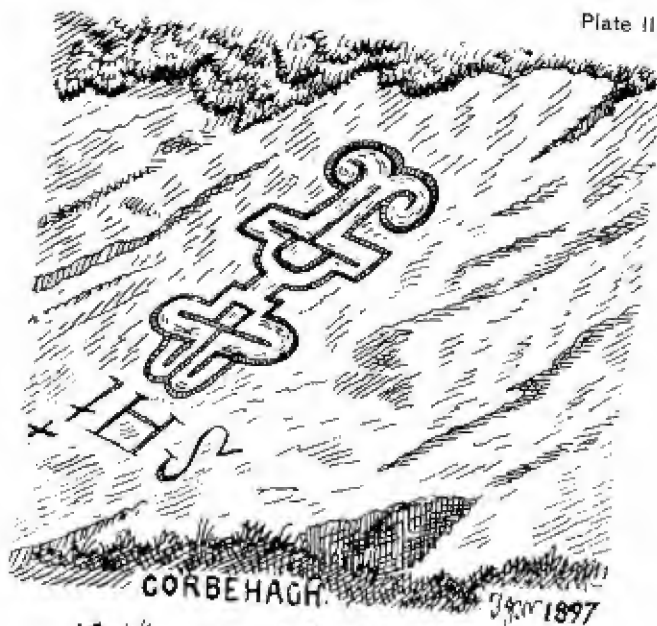
An unbreakable equivalent to the "Luck of Edenhall" has been kept, for time out of mind, by the head of the Westropp family in Munster. On it the preservation of the estates was said to depend, but, as they are now sold, the "luck" must find another field for the exercise of its benevolent tutelage. The legend existed in four distantly-related branches of the family. As told by John Westropp of Lismehane (Clare), before 1780, to the father of one of my informants,⁵ the legend ran much as follows:—"When the first of our family in Ireland went to see the Kilkerin property [on the Shannon in the south-west of Clare], he saw a black bird, [a raven, or crow, or cormorant, in the various versions], rise out of the river with a fish in its mouth, which it dropped and commenced to eat. When Westropp approached it flew away, and, as he saw something shining in the sun, he went to the fish and found a gold ring."⁶ The tale varied as to the bird between the Westroppes of Fortanne (Clare) and those of Cork, and the latter located it only "on the Shannon." The ring, now held by Col. John Massy Westropp of Doonass (Clare), is of plain gold, and probably dates from the earlier part of the seventeenth century, with arms of five *fleurs de lys* forming a cross

³ *The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxxi, pp. 318-9.

⁴ *Limerick Field Club Journal*, vol. ii, pp. 219-220.

⁵ George Westropp of Quinshorough.

⁶ Part of Kilkerin was mortgaged to Mountfort Westropp late in 1671, and he seems to have purchased it before the end of 1672, and owned it in 1674.



with the cadency mark of the mullet, and a wreath, the last relic of the effaced crest. "A famous antiquary in Cork" told my father that it was the ring of a Spanish knight, lost in the Armada,—none of whose ships were wrecked within very many miles of Kilkerin,—while the bows of the wreath were the sacred tetragrammaton,—such was local archæology in 1840! The "raven" version was that most popular, but it was a cormorant that figured in the oldest version recovered by me.

Another highly valued gold ring is preserved by the Molony family of Kiltanon. It belonged to an ancestor's brother, a Roman Catholic Bishop of Kilaloe, about 1690, but no superstition attached to it so far as I could learn from the last generations of the family. I have been told also of a "lucky" flint arrow head, or "thunderbolt," preserved by another family in the north of the county,⁷ but know nothing of its qualities.

It was lately, and I believe is still, the custom at Scatterry Island on the lower Shannon for each boat to bring a pebble from St. Senan's grave, or even from the beach. In 1816 a leaf from his "alder" (elder-tree) was equally effectual in preserving from wreck. A "slip" of the mountain ash or a forked hazel twig protects against fairies. A red string round the neck protects a child against fairies and a lamb against fairies and foxes.

Wishing.—Thomas Dineley, travelling in Clare in 1680, heard of a stone on Loop Head "whereon if any one turns on his heel and thinks of any one" of the other sex for a mate "he shall never fail of his thought." Many had cut their names, but dared not make the turns, for the stone was balanced at the edge of a fearful precipice. It seems to have disappeared, but was remembered as "Clough an umphy" even in the middle of the last century.⁸ At Urlanmore Castle, between Kilmaleery and Newmarket-on-

⁷ This was told to me in 1885, and I did not note the name. I find a "thunderbolt or head of spear" named in a Ms. "Journey to Kerry" (1709) in Trinity College, Dublin, and the belief in the fairy origin of such objects is universal in Clare; stone spindle whorls are reputed "fairy querns."

⁸ *Transactions of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland* (now *Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*), vol. viii. consec. (N.S. v.), p. 189.

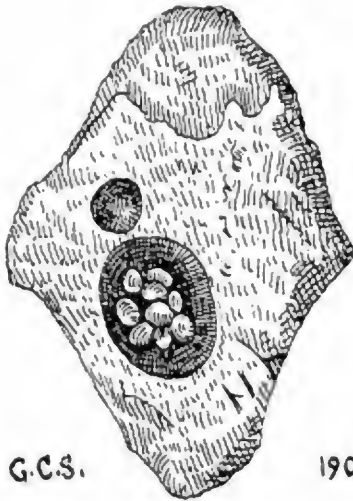
Fergus,⁹ a reputed "wishing seat" remained in 1902, in a side wall of the ruin. There were others in yew-trees at the Turret of Doonass, over the beautiful Salmon Leap of the Shannon, and in the garden of Fortanne near Tulla. Whether these originated in the belief of the peasantry or in a conceit of the owners I know not, but their repute dates back before the memory of the living. It was also said in Ennis that a wish made "on the right day" in the cave of Lismulbreeda, a few miles to the south-west of the town near the Kilrush road, was fulfilled. I could not learn the all-important day. If you wish "reasonably" on seeing a shooting star, before its flash has faded, you will also get your desire. When the new moon is first seen, turn thrice "sunward" (left to right), preferably bowing and spitting at each turn; this brings luck or satisfies the wish specified. A horse-shoe, or piece of iron, when accidentally found, should be thrown with a silent wish over the left shoulder. The wish fails if spoken aloud or if you see where the iron falls. It is also good to pray, or wish, on eating any vegetable or seeing a flower for the first time in the year, or on the arrival of the swallow or the cuckoo. You will get your wish if you count nine stars for nine successive nights. You should bless (or wish good to) ploughing or other such work, or a person or animal that you praise. "God save all here" was a common salute on entering a cottage, and I have known the formula "except the cat" added to this courtesy.

Foundation sacrifices.—Horse skulls were buried under the floor or in recesses in the walls of a house. When the drawing-room floor of Edenvale¹⁰ near Ennis was recently taken up, four horse skulls were found, one in each corner. At Moyreisk, a house of the Vesey Fitzgerald family near Quin, horse skulls were found in recesses in the wall, and the same arrangement occurred at my old home Attyflin, near Limerick, and elsewhere. These burials may probably be regarded,—like the broken querns placed in house foundations at Terry Island in Donegal,¹¹ and cats built up alive

⁹ Newmarket can be located on the parish map, (vol. xxi, p. 180), as at Kilnasoola, to the east of the Fergus estuary. The local Irish name of the village is now, as in the early fourteenth century, Corrasoola.

¹⁰ The main wing was built by George W. Stacpoole circa 1795-1810.

¹¹ *The Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, O.S. vol. I (1853), p. 146.



G.C.S.

1904

R.A.S.M.
1897

GLENFAHAN
CO. KERRY

WART STONE DOUGHNAMBRAHER



KINALLIA

J.W.
1896

in the walls of houses in Dublin¹² and elsewhere,—as substitutes for human sacrifices. That such sacrifices were not unknown to the early Irish seems implied in the startling story of St. Columba's disciple buried as a voluntary sacrifice in the foundations of a new building.¹³

Burial and skull beliefs.—There are two noted cases of superstitious beliefs attached by the pagan Irish to human burials, and Tirechan implies that it was common among the early Irish "quia utuntur gentiles in sepulchri armati, promptis armis facie ad faciem usque ad diem "Erdath," apud Magos (Druides), id est Judicii diem Domini." Laoghaire, the last avowed pagan King of Ireland, followed the teaching of his great father, King Niall of the Nine Hostages, and, when he died in 458, was buried in the south-east side of his (existing) fort, Rath Laoghaire, at Tara, in his armour, holding his spear and with his face turned towards his enemies in Leinster. So also in 537 his kinsman Eoghan Bel was buried in Rath o bh fiachrach, standing upright and holding his spear, and facing the north against Ulster. The Ultonians, believing that the influence of the mighty dead caused their defeats in Connaught, made a raid in great force, exhumed and carried off his body, and buried it face downwards in low ground near Lough Gill.¹⁴ The finding of human bones, with a skull beneath them, in the rampart of the "Rath of the Synods" at Tara, may imply a similar belief. There is also a Norse example of exhuming, beheading, and burying a chief's body with the skull underneath, to destroy his posthumous power.¹⁵

Another, and more repellent, skull charm is found in Clare, but,

¹² I have been told by the late Sir T. Drew and by several builders of the discovery of cats' bodies apparently enclosed alive in recesses.

¹³ In pagan Ireland the custom of burial alive is said to have existed, e.g. Cairbre Niafer, son of Ross, buried a free hostage alive, ("Dindsenchas," *Revue Celtique*, vol. xv, pp. 319-20).

¹⁴ For these two cases much information has been collected by O'Donovan in the *Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, (Irish Archaeological Society, 1844), and Annotations of Tirechan in the *Book of Armagh*, f 10 a 2; for Laoghaire see G. Petrie, *Tara Hill*, p. 170 (from *Leabhar na h Uidhre*, f 76).

¹⁵ Skeletons were discovered on Iniskea Island laid with their faces downwards and with ashes at their feet. (*Ordnance Survey Letters*, (Co. Mayo), pp. 207-8.)

for obvious reasons, it is hard to get any information. I have noticed on three occasions skulls with nails driven into them. In the last case, at Killone near Ennis, I was told by old people in that district that this was secretly done by persons suffering from chronic headache.

There is some belief relating to moss upon skulls which I could not get explained, but I was asked not to pull it off.

To take a human bone from a graveyard causes a ghost to follow and disturb you until the bone is replaced in consecrated ground. I heard of a young Englishman carrying off the end joint of a finger bone from Quin "Abbey," and being so worried that next day he walked some miles to the nearest graveyard to get rid of it. A curious story of a haunting skull, stolen from a Clare graveyard and for many years refusing to be buried, is known to me, but is too long and too little connected with Clare folklore to be told here. Strange to say, despite the deepest regard for the dead, their remains are treated with little respect in most of the graveyards, which display skulls, bones, and literally stacks of coffin planks. Many remember the enormous pile of skulls and bones at Quin "Abbey" before 1878, and lesser piles at Killone, Dromcrechy, Kilmaccreehy, Doora, and Tomfinlough,—at the last church neatly stacked. There is a strong feeling against removing a body from the place of its first burial to one in another parish, and this has led to more than one case of removal and private burial in perhaps the same churchyard. In the case of the Keane family, who made temporary use of an old vault at Kilmaley until a new burial place was ready, the coffins disappeared, and were long afterwards found buried in the adjoining cemetery with the name plates under them. I remember hearing, at the time of the alleged desecration, the belief expressed that the disappearance was only to prevent removal to another parish. It was firmly believed that sickness and death would come into the other parish with the remains.

Cures.—The mud and water in the socket of the cross at Kilvoydan, near Corofin, cure warts, and so does the water in Doughnambraher¹⁸ "Font," a basin stone near an old "killeen"

¹⁸ *I.e.* *Dabhach na m bratháir*, or Friar's Vat. See sketch by Miss G. C. Stacpoole in Plate IV.



KILLEANY CHURCH, CO. CLARE.
(ALTAR WITH ROUND STONES TO RIGHT.)

graveyard¹⁷ in Templemaley parish. The basin is half filled with round pebbles, but I could not discover whether they played any part in the cure. Other wart cures are effected by the milk of the "Seven Sisters" plant¹⁸ applied seven times with prayers, or by rubbing a wedding ring or a stolen scrap of meat three times round each wart in the name of each Person of the Trinity. In the meat cure the piece was afterwards buried, and, as it decayed, the wart disappeared.

People at Fortanne near Tulla used to try to cure the whooping cough by bringing the child to running water, putting a frog held by its hind legs three times into the child's mouth, and then letting the creature swim away uninjured, taking the disease with it.¹⁹ Near Corofin the favourite cures for this illness were to pass the child under an ass, or to give the sufferer any food or cure prescribed by a man on a white horse when met accidentally, or to give the patient the "leavings of a ferret," *i.e.* food left uneaten by that animal.²⁰

A posthumous seventh son has marvellous gifts of healing; near Tulla he can cure a swelled or sore throat by blowing down it.²¹ I was told also that he can aid a woman in childbirth by shaking her gently in his arms, but, as this was told in reply to a leading question (contrary to my custom), I give it with reserve.²²

"Head-measuring" to "close the skull" and cure headache was found by Dr. MacNamara in use near Corofin. I never heard of it, but certainly much still remains to be discovered in the county.

Toothache was cured by holding to the face the once removable head of Christ carved on the then prostrate cross of Dysert O'Dea.²³ I was also told, but on uncertain authority, that a

¹⁷ One at the site of a destroyed and forgotten church.

¹⁸ The spurge, the small variety of which is called the "Five Sisters" in Co. Limerick, but not, I believe, in Co. Clare.

¹⁹ So Mrs. Connors at Fortanne.

²⁰ So Dr. G. MacNamara.

²¹ So Mrs. O'Callaghan and Margaret Molony.

²² I mentioned the cure used in the old tale of "Rose Moan," and was told it prevailed in Clare, but have never had the statement confirmed.

²³ A fine high cross of probably late in the eleventh century. Three of its panels are shown in Plate XIV, vol. xxi., p. 340.

charm for toothache was to rub the gum with a human fingerbone. At Lough Eenagh, in the same parish, people used to pick and chew the bark of an ancient hawthorn bush at a holy well as a cure for toothache.

Cattle cures at Loughs Eenagh and Fergus will be given later. The water of the seven streams of Teeskagh, a wild glen in the heart of the terraced limestone hills in the north-west corner of Kilnaboy parish, cures all sickness (nausea), indigestion, and stomach complaints; it first cured the famous Glasgeivnagh cow.²⁴ In the same district difficult childbirth could be aided by hanging on the sufferer's bed the clothing of a man whose wife was reputed to have been unfaithful to him.

Prophylactics.—It is lucky to kill a bird or an animal on St. Martin's Eve,²⁵ and near Bodyke in Kilnoe parish some of the blood of a hen was put on the four corners of a house, and the rest mopped up by a rag and hidden in the rafters. Holy water and "quickbean" slips are sprinkled and set in potato drills in that parish, but secretly, or they lose their efficacy.²⁶ In Kilnaboy and other parishes near Corofin, meal used to be tied up in a corner of an infant's clothes for luck when it was taken to baptism. A patch of untilled land was left untouched when an old-established grass field was ploughed in Carran parish. A small sheaf is sometimes left in the corner of a field in the Tulla district as an offering to St. Brigit. This is to improve the crop, but must be done with care, as in one case a hazel stick was put into such a sheaf to "take" the butter of the owner of the crop.

A family relic of Dr. G. MacNamara is a small wooden image of the infant Saviour, which prevents the house where it is kept from taking fire, and extinguishes fire when flung into another house, even when the latter is burning fiercely. This recalls St. Declan's crozier, which put out the fire of a burning "fort"

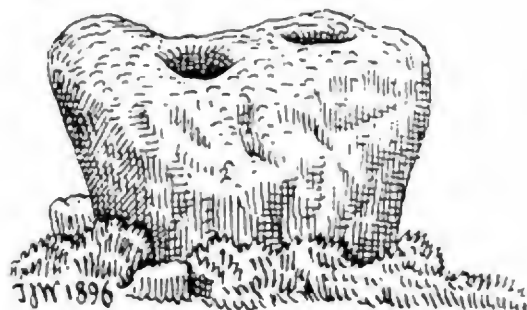
²⁴ So commonly told by the older folk at Tullycommann.

²⁵ See MS. Rawlinson, B 512.f 108.b2. St. Martin conferred the tonsure on St. Patrick, in recognition of which the latter gave him a pig for every monk on the eve of his feast. The origin of the Michaelmas sheep and Michael's portion in Ireland is given similarly by the Rev. G. Keating in his *History of Ireland* (middle of seventeenth century), Bk. ii. sec. iv.

²⁶ So the Malony family of Coolreagh townland.



GULLAUN. J. W. 1896



J. W. 1896

BASINSTONE. MAGHADHAIR.



J. Windele 1840.

ENNIS AMBER BEAD.

near his church of Ardmore.²⁷ The most usual preventative all over Clare is, however, to plant house-leek on a gable or hole in the wall or thatch of a house.

The very strange and unusual custom prevailed of sailing a new boat round the Sacred Isle of Iniscatha "in a course *opposite* to the sun." At Inisglora ships used to lower their topsails to St. Brendan, while in Aran the sails are dipped in honour of St. Gregory, opposite his reputed tomb, a dry-stone turret on the shore of Gregory's Sound. Roderic O'Flaherty, in 1686, tells of a similar observance by boats passing between Mason Head and Cruach MacDara on the northern shore of Galway Bay, and of the melancholy fate of a captain who neglected this act of homage to St. Sinnach MacDara in 1672.²⁸

The unpleasant custom of spitting on a child, or a new suit of clothes, "for luck," was still practised some thirty years ago, if not now, and a pinch was equally lucky for the wearer of the new suit.

Various protective phrases are in common use, even amongst some of the gentry. "God bless us" and "Glory be to God" are used without the least sense of unfitness when telling of some horrible crime or accident. "Good hour be it spoken," "Good word be it spoken," "The Lord be with us" (or "about us"), and these phrases with the names of the Virgin or the Saints inserted, are used in telling of any ghastly or uncanny thing or being, after a presumptuous or profane speech, or after praising a person or animal. (The local saints, save Senan and Patrick, are rarely mentioned nowadays.) "My Christmas box on you" and "My Patrick's pot on you" are of a different class, being merely hints for a present or a drink.

Miscellaneous charms.—Seven hairs were knotted in the mane of a horse or the tail of a cow to protect against fairies. If the

²⁷ "Vita S. Deglani" (13th cent.), *Bollandists' Tome V*, under July 24.

²⁸ A long list of these beliefs can be collected from Hely Dutton's *Statistical Survey of the County Clare* (1808), p. 306, the excellent letter of 1816 on Kilrush Parish by its curate, Rev. Jas. Graham, in Mason's *Parochial Survey*, vol. ii, p. 433, and S.F. (Samuel Ferguson) in *Dublin University Magazine*, vol. xviii. (1816), pp. 547-9. I heard many of the beliefs in 1875 and 1878 from the fishermen at Scatterry and Kilkee.

corpse of a drowned person cannot be found, a sheaf of straw is blessed and thrown into the stream, and is expected to follow every move of the body and stop over its resting-place. (It was tried successfully in 1894 near Ennis.)²⁹ To bathe in the waters of the Shannon confers the gift of impudence,³⁰—an idea which there seems much to justify.

THOS. J. WESTROFF.

(*To be continued.*)

FIFTY HAUSA FOLK-TALES (*continued*).

31. *The City of Women.* (B. G.)

This is about a certain bachelor. He had no wife. So he went and made a farm. Then a certain Tortoise came, and said, "O, farm of the bachelor, rise up in disorder!" When the bachelor came and saw, he said,—“Oh, who is doing this to me?” Then he said,—“Very well, I shall wait, so that I may see who is making my farm disordered.” When he had finished farming, he hid at the edge of the bush and waited. On the arrival of the Tortoise, he (Tortoise) said,—“O, farm of the bachelor, rise up in disorder!” So the farm became disordered. Then the bachelor came and took a hoe and beat him on the back. But the Tortoise said,—“Oh, bachelor, leave me, leave me. I will give you a wife.” Then he said,—“Now, go, bachelor, make a bundle of stalks.” Then, when he had made a bundle, he said,—“Here it is, I have done it.” He (Tortoise) said,—“Very well, get inside, I will carry you,” so said the Tortoise. So he said,—“Very well.” The Tortoise carried him to a certain town, where (there were) only women; there was not even one man. When the Tortoise had brought him to the town where there were no men, he said,—“Listen to (see) the crying.” Then he undid the bundle. When the poorer women saw the man, they

²⁹ So Dr. G. U. MacNamara.

³⁰ *Dublin University Magazine*, vol. xvii. (1841), p. 360.

said,—“Oh, this is too good for us. Let us take him to the chieftain(ess).” When she saw him, she gave (made) him a robe, a pair of trousers, and a turban, and she bought him a horse. All the good things of sovereignty she gave him. Then she said,—“Now I am going to war,” and she said,—“See this small basket. You must not open it.” But she said,—“Everything in this house is yours, except this small basket. If you open it, you will have a great shock (your heart will break).” So she started off and went to war, and left him at home. Then he said,—“Now everything that is in the house is mine, so I shall open this small basket.” When he had opened it he saw the centre of his farm,¹ (with nothing) but a leather loin covering and a hoe. He could not see the house any more. So he began to cry, and said,—“Now, where shall I get a Tortoise to take me?” So he went to the edge of the bush, and found a young Tortoise. So he brought him, and said,—“Now, when I farm, you must say “O, farm of the bachelor, rise up in disorder!” When I come to pick up the hoe to beat you, you must say,—“Leave me, leave me, and I will take you to the city of women.”” This was done. Then he said,—“Very well. Tell me to make a bundle.” Then the little Tortoise said,—“Do so.” When he had made it, he got inside, and said,—“Little Tortoise, carry me.” So he said,—“Very well.” When he had got inside, the little Tortoise, when he lifted him up, began to groan, for he was not strong, and he said,—“Alas, alas.” Then he met with a Hyæna. The Hyæna said,—“Oh, little Tortoise, what are you carrying?” Then the little Tortoise said,—“Oh, the bachelor said I must carry him.” So the Hyæna said,—“Throw down (*term of abuse*), and let me eat him.” So the little Tortoise threw down the bundle, and the Hyæna came and tore open the bundle, and took the bachelor and ate him.

32. *The Boy who refused to Walk.* (M.)

This one is about a woman who had never given birth. So she said,—“Oh God, wilt Thou not give me even a lame child or a leper to bring forth?” Thus it was that one day God caused her to conceive. So she brought forth a son, and called (his name) Little

¹ i.e. he found himself there again.

Crab. This went on, and even when the boy grew up he refused to walk (get down from his mother).² So she said,—“What shall I do with the boy to make him walk?” Now she went to a learned man, and when she had gone, she said,—“O Learned Man, will you not give me a charm (to make) the boy walk about on the ground?” Then he said,—“Very well. You must go and buy a goat.” So she went and bought a goat. He said,—“Go into the depths of the forest.” He said,—“When you have gone, kill (the goat). When you have killed (the goat), say,—“Boy, get down that I may go and get some wood for (you) to cook the meat for (you).” Then the boy will get down.” So she went into the midst of the forest, and killed the goat, and said,—“Boy, get down that I may go and get wood for (you) and cook the meat for (you).” Then he got down, and when he had got down the woman ran away. Now it happened that, when she had run away, the Hyæna (came). Then the Hyæna said,—“O Boy, have you got some meat?” So he said,—“Yes.” Then he (boy) said,—“But my meat is for carrying (me) on the back.” So then he (boy) said,—“If I give you this meat, and you eat it, will you carry me on your back?” Then the Hyæna said,—“Very well. Get up.” So the Hyæna ate up the flesh. Now, when the Hyæna had eaten the flesh, she said,—“O Boy, get down, that I may go and ease myself” (make behind house). But the boy said,—“I refuse, unless you give me back my flesh that you have eaten.” Then she made as if she would bite him, but the boy shifted to another spot, and she could not. So thus it was that the Hyæna was going about with the boy, and for about ten days the boy was on the Hyæna’s back.³ Then the Hyæna went to the learned man and said,—“O Learned Man, will you not give me a charm (to make) the boy get down?” Then he said,—“Very well. You must go and buy a goat, and go to the forest and kill (it), and say,—“O Boy, get down that I may go and get (you) some wood.”” So the Hyæna said,—“Very well.” So she went to the forest and killed the goat, and then she said,—“O Boy, get down that I may go and get (you) some wood.” Then he got down. When the boy had got down, the Hyæna ran away. But when she had run away, she returned to

² *Kaddaffi* is to cling on.

³ The frequentative here is unnecessary.

the place where the flesh was, and climbed a tree, and then she made a long hook and drew up the flesh and ate it. As for the boy, he did not see. Now she (again) descended to get the rest of the meat, but the boy saw (her), and he pulled the Hyæna towards him. But the Hyæna slipped out of the boy's hands, and ran away. After a little while the Spider came (while out for a) walk, and he saw the boy and the meat. So he said,—“O Boy, will you not give me your meat?” But he (boy) said,—“My meat is for carrying (me) on the back. If you will carry me on your back, you may eat (it).” So the Spider said,—“Oh (it is) for carrying on the back! Indeed carrying on the back is not difficult.” So he (boy) said,—“Very well. Take me on your back first, and you may eat (it).” So it happened that the Spider lifted up the boy and put him on his back, and, when the Spider had put him on his back, he ate all the flesh. When the Spider had eaten the flesh, he said,—“O Boy, get down,” but the boy refused. So the Spider took the boy to the female spider's house, and he (Spider) said to the female,—“Bring your stick and beat this boy.” So it happened that the female brought a stick and came to beat the boy, but the boy moved to one side, and so she caught the Spider (instead). When the female spider hit him, the Spider fell down and died, and then the female spider ran away. So the boy got off the Spider's body. Then the boy went and threw himself into the water. Now of old the boy was an inhabitant of the water, (so) he returned to his home.

33. *How the Goat and the Dog frightened the Hyæna.* (S. D.)

This is about a Hyæna and a Dog. They were friends, and (the Hyæna)⁴ said,—“Let us walk around and look for food.” Then the Dog said,—“I shall not go.” When he had said he would not go, the Hyæna went home. Then the Dog got up and went to the house of the He-goat, and said to him,—“Look here, the Hyæna asked (me) to go for a walk, but I am not going. So I arose and came to you (your house).” “It is well (better) that you came to me and told me,” said the He-goat. Then he (He-goat) said,—“Well, let us go and visit the Hyæna's house.”

⁴Evidently, from the context.

Then the Dog said to the He-goat,—“No, no, I refused to go before.” Then he (He-goat) said,—“Let us go. I know how we shall manage” (the cunning that I shall do). So he made a gourd, (and filled it with) a poisonous stalk, and took some raw cotton and put it inside and took it, and they went to the Hyæna’s house. Now they found the Hyæna forging. Her cubs were sitting down working the bellows. When the mother Hyæna saw two meals (meats) had come, she said,—“Welcome.” As for the Dog, when he saw the Hyæna, he (began) crying and losing control over himself. Then the He-goat said,—“The Hyæna cubs cannot blow. Get up, that I may blow for her.” So the cubs got up from the blowing-place, and the He-goat took hold of the bellows. When he first took hold, he (began) singing and saying that he had eaten nine lions, he had eaten nine buffaloes, and that he had also eaten nine hyænas. Then the Hyæna said,—“What did you say, O son of a she-goat?” He said,—“I have eaten nine lions, I have eaten nine buffaloes, I have eaten nine hyænas.” The Hyæna said,—“Where is the proof, since (it is that) you say you have eaten nine hyænas?” Then he (He-goat) pulled out the cotton from the red gourd. When she (Hyæna) had taken it and had seen the cotton like blood,⁵ the Hyæna said,—“Son of a she-goat, wait a minute.”⁶ Then she went into her house, and when she came out, she opened the fence,⁷ brought out her cubs, (and) ran away. The son of the she-goat heard nothing. He had not seen the Hyæna go away. So he said,—“O Dog, get up and let us go into the Hyæna’s house.” When they had entered, and had not seen anyone, the He-goat took the Dog and hid (closed) him in a store.⁸ As for him, he dug a hole in the centre of the house, and got in, and left his beard outside. (They were there) for seven days. Then the Hyæna said,—“Certainly those guests (must) have gone home.” So the cubs said,—“Well, let us go (back).” When they had gone into the

⁵ It was red through having been in the gourd, and would look like brains, perhaps.

⁶ *Lit.* “I am coming,” and meaning I am going but am coming again.

⁷ *I.e.* escaped through the wall of the house.

⁸ The *rumbu* is a separate hut built outside the huts for living in, but inside the compound.

house, one cub caught hold of the hair, and said,—“Father, see him.” They struggled until they seized the beard and pulled (it). Then the Hyæna herself pulled the hair, and pulled the son of the she-goat right out. Then the Goat⁹ cried out loudly, and the Dog barked (made his crying) inside the store, and said,—“Seize the big one, seize the big one.” Then the Hyæna fled to the bush. She was dropping. So the son of the she-goat put the Dog in the house, and said,—“This is your house,” and then he, the son of the she-goat, went home. So the Dog obtained a house, he inherited (it). As for the Hyæna she did not again return to the house. That was the beginning of the enmity between the Dog and the Hyæna.

When the Hyæna comes at night, she cries thus: “See the pot of honey, see the pot of honey.”

Then the puppies reply,—“Where? where? where? where?”

The Hyæna says,—“The Dog is my cousin, the Dog is my cousin.”

But the father Dog replies,—“Get out (there), Get out, Get out, Get out.”¹⁰

34. *The Beginning of the enmity between Mouse and Man.* (U. G.)

This is about a certain householder. In the middle of the night he got up and (began) cooking meat. Then the smell of the meat filled the hut. Thus the Mouse came from the thatch, (and) when he had come he espied [two toes] of the householder. The householder was there. He was cooking his meat. The Mouse was saying perhaps that is the meat. When he (Mouse) came, he snatched away the [two toes], and took them to his hole. He whose [toes] had been pulled off did not know (it). Then he took his meat off (the fire) and ate it. When he had finished eating his meat, he got on his bed to sleep, when he saw blood. . . . Then he saw he had [lost two toes], and said,—“What has done this?” So he lit a torch (and) searched, (and) saw the

⁹ Hausa carelessness. The animal is called a he-goat, son of a she-goat, now goat. The pronouns also are wrong.

¹⁰ The voice is made to rise and fall, and a good narrator can make the words sound very much like laughing and barking.

footprints of the Mouse. So he followed the prints up to his hole. Then he took a spade, opened the hole, and went and caught the Mouse eating his [toes]. Then the Mouse said,—“Who was that entering his house?” Then he (man) said,—“The thief who came and pulled off his [toes], he (it was) he was following.” Then he (Mouse) said,—“Who was that coming into his house without first saluting?” He said,—“Wait for him, he was coming,” so said the Mouse. Then he entered his room, and got his bow and arrows (quiver) and slung (it) on, and said they would go to the judge. So the householder said,—“Right, let us go.” Then the judge said,—“What has caused you to quarrel?” Then he (man) said,—“This one came and pulled off my [toes].” He (Mouse) on his part said,—“Ask him why he entered my house without saluting.” Then he (judge) said,—“Very well. If he restores your [toes] how can you compensate him for entering his house without saluting?” So he said now, this is their judgment, he said the Mouse was to return one [toe] and he (man) will have compensated him for entering his house without saluting. So he said they could go, (as) they had been punished; even out in the world one had to salute. Thus even now in the world can you enter the house of anyone without having saluted? That was the beginning of the enmity (between) Mouse and householder.

35. *The Waterfowl borrows the Dove's Beak.* (B. G.)

A *Sheda*¹¹ went to a Dove, and said,—“I want the loan of your beak. I am going to the marriage feast of the *Kajerini*,¹¹ son of the King of the birds. I want to have a loan.” Then the Dove said,—“Very well. But let me not give you a loan for three days and you go and make (it) three months. You know that with your mouth no one can eat food.” Then the *Sheda* said,—“Come, Dove, if you do me a good turn, am I going to return you an evil one? Really it is (only) a loan.” So then the *Sheda*

¹¹ The *sheda* is said to be a long-beaked water-bird, but the final sentence would seem to indicate that it is *not* a water-bird. The *kajerini* is said to be a long-tailed bird. I have not seen either, and do not know their English names, so prefer using the Hadsa ones to making a guess.

went off (with it). The three days became (she made) three months. Then the Dove's relatives said,—“You, Dove, if you do not follow the *Sheda* and get your beak, you will die. You are not able to eat food.” So she said,—“Very well.” So she started. When she had started, she went to a certain town and perched on a tree. Then she said,—“You people of this town, where is the house of the *Kajerini*, son of the King of birds? The *Sheda* borrowed my beak. Instead of (from) three days (she has kept it) three months.” And she said,—“I cannot eat food with her beak. If I go to eat food, I fall down stumbling. I arise with my head crooked” (with a long beak). Then the people of the town said,—“Ah, (he) is not here. You must go on further to meet him” (them). When she had started, (she came) straight to the house of the *Kajerini*, and she perched on the tree (under) which they were pounding (grain). Then she said,—“You people of this town, where is the house of the *Kajerini*, son of the King of birds? The *Sheda* borrowed my beak. Instead of (from) three days (she has kept it) three months.” And she said,—“I cannot eat food with her beak. If I go to eat food, I fall down stumbling. I arise with my head crooked.” Then they said,—“Let us leave off pounding and listen to this sweet singing bird.” But the *Sheda* said,—“No, get to work, get to work. Do not listen.” Then again she (Dove) spoke and said,—“You people of this town, where is the house of the *Kajerini*, son of the King of birds? The *Sheda* borrowed my beak. Instead of (from) three days (she has kept it) three months.” And she said,—“I cannot eat food with her beak. If I go to eat food, I fall down stumbling. I arise with my head crooked.” Nothing but silence. When they had heard, they said,—“Ah, look, here is the *Sheda*.” But she, the *Sheda*, got up, and went inside the house. Then they said,—“Follow her.” So the Dove followed her, and said, “Come, *Sheda*, give me my beak. I gave you a loan (for) three days, (and) you have kept (it) for (until) three months.” So she (*Sheda*) took the beak and gave her (it), and she (Dove) took her beak and adjusted (it). The Dove came out and flew away. Then the *Sheda* remained (was) in the room, and got inside the space under the bed. Her beak stuck against the wall. Then the *Kajerini* entered the room, and said,—“Where is the

Sheda?” Then she (*Sheda*) said,—“My teeth are aching.” She was hiding her beak. Then the *Kajerini* said,—“Come, *Sheda*, when you first came I knew your beak was not your own.” Then he said,—“Now, you must stay in the house. You must not go out again until the feast is over.” Everyone who came enquired saying (said),—“Where is the *Sheda*?” But they were told,—“Ah, she is not well.” Thus it was, she did not go out again until the feast was over.

36. *The Search for a Bride.* (S. D.)

The son of the King of Egypt was going to the city of Medina to be married (to search for marriage). He went to a priest. The priest said,—“Go and seek a scholar who will escort you.” Then he went and found a scholar, and brought him to the house. When night came, the scholar did not move about. He did not read at night. In the morning, he (King’s son) went and told the priest. The priest said,—“Ah, you have not got a proper scholar.” He said,—“Return and find another.” So he went to the market again, and found another scholar, and said,—“Come and let us go to my house.” Now, when evening came, food was made for them, and they ate. Then the scholar said the evening prayer. Then he said he was going inside the house until the next day. When he had entered the room he began reading. When dawn broke, the King’s son went to the priest, and said,—“I have got a certain scholar.” The priest said,—“Now you have a scholar.” He (priest) said,—“Very well. Make haste and get off.” Then the King’s son said,—“Shall we go to-morrow?” The priest said,—“You shall go.” When morning came, they saddled their horses and mounted and went outside the town, both they and their numerous households. They were going to search for a bride (marriage). They went out at the gate of the town. The scholar said,—“Will you not send back and find another horse to be led and to be kept apart?” Then they went out and started on their journey. One led horse was brought behind. They started on their journey and came to the forest, when two Doves came and alighted (in the road). They had one eye (their eyes one). One Dove said,—“The King’s son and the scholar are going to

the city of Medina to search for a bride." Then the other said,—
"Give me the eye that I may see." Then she said,—
"The King's son and the priest's son are going to the city of Medina to search for a bride. If they deserve it (if it is their portion), God will give it them. If they do not deserve it, God will not grant it." Then the other, which had first talked, said,—
"Give me the eye to see." She said,—
"The King's son, the tree that he is about to pass, let him pass it at a gallop." Now the priest's son understood. The King's son did not understand. He said to the King's son,—
"You gallop (when) you pass this tree." So he galloped and passed (it). When he was passing, a branch of the tree fell and broke one of the horse's legs, and the horse died. Then the scholar said,—
"Very well. Bring up that other horse and ride (it)." So they went on with their journey. They came to a river. They took off their clothes and began washing. The two Doves came and alighted (in the road), and said,—
"The King's son and the priest's son are going to the city of Medina to search for a bride." The one Dove said,—
"Give me the eye that I may see." She pulled out the eye and gave her. She said,—
"The King's son and the priest's son, if they knew, they would come out of the water. They would cut two sticks, and come and beat the robe of the King's son." The priest's son understood. The King's son did not understand. They came out of the water. They cut sticks, and they beat and beat the robe. The priest's son said to the King's son,—
"Come here and see." When he had lifted up the robe, a snake came out, a very big one (big in truth). Then he (priest's son) said,—
"Let us hurry and go." Then they girthed on their saddles. They started on the journey to go to the town.

They came to the town. At the gate of the town the two Doves came and alighted (in the road). One said,—
"The King's son and the priest's son have come to search for a bride." The other said,—
"Give me the eye that I may see." She took it, and pressed it in. When she had pressed it in, she said,—
"The King's son and the priest's son have come to seek a bride. If they knew, the King's son would enter this city at a gallop. If (he do) not (do) thus, there will be an accident." Now the scholar understood. The King's son did not understand. So the priest's

son said,—“O King’s son, enter at a gallop.” He entered at a gallop. Then the wall fell, (but) he had already passed. When the King’s son and the priest’s son had entered the town, the two Doves flew away. They went to the door of the King’s house. The King said,—“Take them to a lodging.” When evening came, the King’s son came to the maiden, and said,—“I want to marry you.” She said,—“I also like you, but he who would marry me must live for seven days and eat nothing.” He said,—“Very well, I agree.” They slept in the one room. Then they played draughts. He won. Now the young scholar, when night came, used to take a skin and tie it on and cry,—“O prophet of the one God.” The people of this house would give him food, the people of that house would give him food, the people of another house would give him food, until he filled his calabash with food. He came and knocked at the house where the King’s son was. The wall opened. He gave him food, and he ate it. The King’s son was satisfied. Then he again hit the wall and it closed, and he returned to his lodging. As for the house, it had no door. During six days he was giving him food. On the day when the seventh day was to be completed, on the seventh night, the scholar went out to beg. Now nothing had been cooked except ground-nuts. He obtained ground-nuts in a small calabash, and went and knocked at the wall behind the boy. The wall opened, and he (King’s son) (began) taking the ground-nuts. He (priest’s son) gave them to him. He (King’s son) was eating them. He (King’s son) was playing draughts with the girl also. She did not see. When he had had enough, when he ducked his head one ground-nut fell out in front of her, the girl. She took it and looked at it, and said,—“What is this?” He remained silent. She said,—“Oho, Deceiver, to-morrow we shall see.” She arose and pulled off her waist-cloths, even seven cloths, and put them on one side. She put her hand in the pocket of a cloth,¹² and took a small tin and opened it, and took the kernel of the ground-nut and put it inside. Then she took her waist-cloths and put them on again. Then she lay down and said she wanted to sleep. The scholar got up crying, and went into the town. Then he found a Cat. The Cat said,—“What do you want?” The

¹² The inside cloth (*faiars*) often has a pocket.

boy said,—“Have you heard what has caused me to seek for you?” She said,—“What is it?” He said,—“The King’s son and the king’s daughter were playing draughts. I found something for him to eat, and took (it) to him. She found us out to-day.” Then the Cat said,—“Let us go.” They came. He (priest’s son) knocked at the door. The room opened. Then the Cat said,—“Let us go in.” Then the Cat rubbed some charm on the girl. Then they pulled off her waist-cloths. Then they put their hands in the pocket, and took out the small tin, and opened it, and took out the kernel of the nut, and gave it to the King’s son, and he ate it. They took a draught, and put it inside the tin and closed it. (Then) they returned it to her pocket. Then they put her cloths on again. Then the Cat and the scholar went away. Each went to his own house. The King’s son slept until dawn. She cried out, and said they must come and take them out, the seven days were passed. They came and took them out. The King’s son then went to his lodging. She also went to her father’s house. She went and told her father, and said,—“When the King’s son comes he must be killed. He has committed a crime.” Then noon passed, and all the town assembled. Then they sent for the King’s son to come. Then the father said,—“Call the girl.” She was called, and she came. When she had come, the father said,—“Now come and bring the proof that we may see (it).” She came and untied all her waist-cloths, and put in her hand and took the tin. She pulled out the tin, and gave it to her father’s younger brother. He took it, and gave it to the chief priest of the town. He said,—“Very well. Open the tin,” so said the King. The chief priest opened the tin, and saw the draught inside, and said to the King,—“Do you see?” He said it was to be given to his younger brother. He said,—“Now, you said it was a ground-nut. Look here, it is not a ground-nut.” Then the King’s son arose and said,—“Now, give me it to look at.” When he had taken it, he looked at it in his hand, and said to them,—“Now you have seen it. Is that a ground-nut?” The people said,—“No.” Then he drew his sword and went to kill the father, and they ran away, the whole of the (people in the) hall. Then the scholar arose and put his arms round him, and said,—“Be patient.” Then the King said,—“Very well. Go to your house. In the evening

come and you will be married." Then, when evening came, they came and they were married. Then, when evening came, the girl was taken to his house where he was living. The girl was taken to him.

This went on, this went on. He (King's son) used to go to the scholar and talk (to him). He also, the scholar, used to go and come to him to talk. One day the scholar got up to go to him, when he came upon a snake in the road. They struggled for a time, (but when) the snake saw that the scholar was going to (overpower) him he spat spittle into the scholar's eyes, and the eyes were blinded (shut). As for the boy he stabbed him (snake) with a knife and killed him. Then the boy said,—“Now let me return (to the) house where I am lodging.” The scholar held his stick, and was groping on the road until he reached the house. In the morning the King's son came and said,—“Ah, So-and-so, I did not see you yesterday.” Then he said,—“Ah, as you passed on this road did you not see a snake on the dung-heap?” He said,—“I it was who fought him yesterday. My eyes have become blind.” He said,—“Indeed, let us go home to-morrow.” He went and said to the King,—“To-morrow we shall start to go home.” Then the King said,—“Is it in peace?” He said,—“It is in peace. My fellow traveller has had his eyes spat into by a snake, and has become blind.” Then the King said,—“Very well. You shall go.” The wife was nursing an infant. The King gave (him) slaves, both big and little, and many presents. In the morning (many) came to escort them. Then they returned alone to the town. They came to a certain forest, and the two Doves came and alighted (in the road). One of them said,—“The King's son and the priest's son came to search for a bride. God granted them (one), and they obtained (one). Now they are going home.” The (other) one said,—“Give me the eye that I may see.” When she had pressed it in, she said,—“See there, too, the priest's son is blind.” The (other) one said,—“Give me the eye that I may see.” She said,—“If now they knew, they would take that young child who has been born there and kill it, and take (touch) some of the child's blood, and rub it on his eyes and the eyes would be opened.” The King's son understood. The priest's son did not understand. So he returned

at a gallop and took the child, and went and killed (it), and took some blood in his hand and came and rubbed it on the scholar's eyes, and the eyes opened. They were travelling along. The mother did not know. Then the two Doves came and alighted (in the road) again. One of them said,—“The King's son and priest's son came to search for a bride. God granted them (their quest), and they obtained it. A snake and the priest's son had a tussle. The snake spat spittle into the boy's eyes, and he became a blind man.” Then they flew on again along the road. One of them said,—“Give me the eye that I may see.” She said,—“When they took the road, if they had known, they would have returned to the place where the boy was whom they had killed. They would have picked some leaves in the place, and would have touched the boy with them and he would have come to life.” The young scholar understood. The King's son did not understand. Then he returned at a gallop to where the boy was. The King's son said,—“Where are you going?” He said,—“Wait a minute.” He came and broke off a branch at the place, and touched the boy with it, and the boy came to life. He took the boy at a gallop, and began galloping and galloping, and he came and gave him to the nurse. Then he passed and overtook the King's son, and said, “Let us go.” He said,—“Where did you go just then?” He said,—“I let something fall, and I went back and got it.” When they had come to the river at the gate of the town, they let attendants go into the town first. Then he saw the boy on a woman's back. Then he pulled his turban over his mouth, and began laughing. They divided their riches, and remained.

A. J. N. TREMEARNE

(To be continued.)

MIANWALI FOLKLORE NOTES.

In 1901 the District of Mianwali was formed out of the two Panjab halves of two older districts, and I had the good fortune to

be put in charge. It was a lonely District with, as my Assistant Mr. Bolster called it, "three white men in a wilderness of sand." He was at the subdivision of Bhakkar, 55 miles off, and the Police Officer lived with me in Mianwali.

Naturally, in a place like this, one gets to notice many things that pass unobserved in a crowded Cantonment full of gaieties or distractions. Among those who became the subject of study in Mianwali were my *chuprassis* (doorkeepers), and it happened that all three were characters in their way. The youngest one had been a hawksman before he became an orderly, and was therefore told off to look after guns and help in all forms of sport. He could never be got to approve of shooting on Fridays, and was much upset if a hare crossed our path early in the morning; and he would not, unless forced, count the bag until all prospect of further sport was ended, as to do so was likely to stop the bag at the amount counted. But these ideas have near parallels in most places. The other *chuprassis* were better worth folklore study. When I was a bachelor, the principal thing that I noted was that the older man conceived from the first a great reverence for my powers as a magician. The annual rainfall in Mianwali is only 10½ inches, and in Bhakkar 7, and there were several prolonged droughts during my incumbency, but this had no effect on his belief in me. Rain seemed to fall, either when I was in Mianwali, which was obviously due to my presence there, or it fell in places to which I had gone, and nothing but my arrival had brought it to such spots. So far did my reputation as a rainmaker carry me, that, after I experienced one or two heavy soakings on the little hill to which I resorted for a portion of the hot weather,—and rain that falls in an arid area is rain, and not the drizzle that goes under that title in this country,—I discovered that Tahla Ram would induce me to get out a good distance from home without either waterproof or umbrella when there appeared a chance of a storm rolling up. I challenged him about this, and he pointed out that on certain occasions I, the Head of the District, had got wet, and the whole District had been well wetted with me, and that it was incumbent on me to try and obtain the same effect whenever possible. On another occasion we arrived on the Hill on a Monday about the 20th of

June and not a drop of rain fell until July 26th, though rain was both needed and expected in June. Fortunately for my reputation, an officer from another District had arrived on the Sunday, and all through those long weeks Tahla Ram spent his time in rubbing into the subordinates of the other District, with irritating reiteration, the remark that "some one with inauspicious feet had arrived on the Hill before his Lord."

But I did not understand Tahla Ram fully until I married and my wife attained to the condition which we cloak over, but which the simpler natives, welcoming the thing that must please their master, were delighted to observe,—the condition, as it is termed by them, of "Hope."

I must state that to lonely men in a lonely District shooting is the only thing that preserves life,—the life of the lonely man, not of the birds; and, as the season wanes, and one knows that blank days of unalloyed heat and duststorms are before one until September and the Hill Partridge come again, every possible day becomes precious to one. I was surprised, however, to find that, towards the end of the season, messages to my pet *shikarri* miscarried, that the call-birds for quail had collected few of their friends near them, and that altogether shooting had failed before the end of the season. It was not till two rock pigeons settled, as pigeons were wont to do, on the roof of my house, that Tahla Ram disclosed his hand. "Why kill in these days?" he said, "Life is very precious to you."

A further manifestation of the same idea occurred a little later. I had taught my wife to shoot, as I had my sister before I married. The discouragement of women shooting is an excellent thing where preserved game is scarce enough to be preserved for man alone, but, in a lonely District where there is nothing to do but shoot, it is well that a woman should take an interest in the only thing that is of interest. My wife showed such prowess on birds of various kinds that, when she took a severe fever in May, Tahla Ram ascribed it to the Evil Eye of one or other of the numerous persons who had applauded her skill.

The other *chuprassi* was a pudding-headed creature, with, as is often the case with stupid people, many and great redeeming qualities. He thoroughly understood the serious notions of his

superior,—that nothing must be allowed to upset the possibilities of "Hope." So, when the gardener came to the veranda in my absence with the cry to the *Mem-sahib* that a particular brute of a parrot was eating the best vegetables and had come back time and again, despite the gardener's shouts, Sultan *chuprassi* hurried out with the gun he had been ordered to hold and fired at the parrot while his mistress was putting her sun hat on. There are some who, on the instigation of the gunner anxious to practise, would have beaten that *chuprassi* full sore, but could I do it when I understood the kindly idea underlying the action?

However, from Evil Eye or mosquito-born germs my wife developed a very serious fever, which in the end meant for me and my brother-in-law a twelve-hour walk by her doolie and a thirty-six hour railway journey, and Tahla Ram was with us all the time. Before we determined to move her to Simla I was in a great state of distress, as the fever persisted. I knew by experience how to bang out fever from myself with great doses of quinine abnormally applied, but how to cure a woman "in Hope" was beyond me. Tahla came to me one day and propounded his method of relief. "The *Mem-sahib* has been overlooked by evil eyes which were astounded at her shooting; allow me to perambulate seven times round her bed, burning pepper, and all will be well." I would have allowed it, as a good folklorist, but burnt red pepper seemed to have possibilities of annoyance, and so the matter dropped.

In the end, despite the serious troubles beforehand, "Hope" turned into perfect maturity, and a small son was born who from the first, (and, as we say in Mianwali, to avoid the Evil Eye, "till tomorrow"), has been a fine specimen of the race. But Tahla Ram was dissatisfied at the approbation bestowed on him by all alike in the early days, and we found him strongly discountenancing the practice which brought the infant out into the veranda in the mornings to be observed by servants, orderlies, police constables, and others. Finally, as he found the practice did not cease, he was not going to allow the child to risk the effect of the Evil Eye, and so with much ceremony and prayer he tied a red thread round his little wrist. We let it remain on some hours, and then explained that one tying would have all the effect needed. Tahla

Ram acquiesced doubtfully. He would have preferred the red thread daily.

But after all it was our European nurse who, impressed by the stories the natives told her about the power of the Holy Saints who are so numerous near the Indus, asked a peculiarly fat one to pray for the child. She gave him a rupee, and was sorry she had, because after blowing on the coin and waving it three times round the head of the infant, above whom he then breathed heavily with a saintly breath, he only prayed that he might become a Commissioner,—a person of importance, but not at the head of the Official Hierarchy. "Pray for him to be a Lieutenant Governor, a Lord-Sahib," she asked. Just then I emerged from the Rest-house, and the fat man was saved any further trouble.

A. J. O'BRIEN.

ARMENIAN FOLK-TALES (*continued*).

5. *Tenthousandfold*.¹

Once upon a time there lived a man and a woman. This man was very pious. He goes to church every day. He gives a piastre to the priest each day, and every day the priest says to him,—“Blessed one, may Tenthousandfold give you a thousand in place of one.” The man rejoices; he says to himself,—“This is a good thing. I give one; I shall receive a thousand!”

In the course of time he gives all that he has to the priest, and is left penniless. His wife says to him,—“Arise, go to the priest; bring one thousand to give for bread and food, to last us till he pays us the remaining thousands little by little.”

The man goes.—“Blessed of the Lord!”

“God bless thee!”

“O priest dear, I gave you so much that you might return thousands and thousands. Now, bring me a thousand to carry home, and I’ll come later for the rest.”

“Blessed one,” says the priest, “you gave to me in order that Tenthousandfold should return you a thousand in place of one.”

¹ This is the third story in *Manana*.

"Where is Tenthousandfold?"

The priest points towards a road, and says,—“You take this road and go along. You will reach a large man seated on a golden throne. That is Tenthousandfold. You will say,—“The priest sent me to you. I have given one; you are to give a thousand.””

The man sets out on that long road. He goes till he comes to a cave. He enters, and what does he see but forty lusty robbers lined up in there! They treat him with respect; they give him a seat, and sit down with him in their midst. Then they ask him,—“Who are you? No one has come here for a long time. Where are you coming from, and where are you going?”

The man replies,—“I am going to Tenthousandfold. I have given one; I am going to receive a thousand.”

The robbers say,—“Brother, there is no sense in that; don't you believe it. Come, we'll give you a handful of gold from here. Take it and return to your home.”

“No,” says the man. “That money is unblest.”

Then the robbers say,—“Since you are such a righteous man, go and ask Tenthousandfold whether there is room for us in the other world.”

“Upon my head,” replies the man. He goes on his way.

He goes till he meets an old man seated beside a rock. He says “Ho!”

“Praise the Lord! Praise the Lord!” [the old man is saying]. As fast as he says the words gold gushes out of the rock.

The old man asks the traveller,—“Brother, where are you going?”

He replies,—“I am going to Tenthousandfold. I have given one; I am going to receive a thousand.”

The old man says, “Come, I will give you a double handful; take it and return.”

“No,” says the man. “That is not what I gave nor what I have earned; I have no right to it.”

“If that is so, go ask Tenthousandfold when the gold is going to cease to gush from this rock.”

“Upon my eyes,” says the man, and goes on his way.

He goes along till he sees a gardener by the roadside, who asks,—“Mortal, where are you going?”

The man replies,—“I am going to Tenthousandfold. I have given one ; I am going to receive a thousand.”

The gardener says,—“When you go, ask Tenthousandfold why it is that when I wall in my garden all the fruit and vegetables dry up ; but when I take down the wall they flourish.”

“Upon my countenance,” says the man, and goes on his way.

He goes along till he sees a priest whose body has been built into a wall, and he is gasping for breath.

The priest asks,—“Son, where are you going ?”

The man replies,—“I am going to Tenthousandfold. I have given one ; I am going to receive a thousand.”

The priest says to him,—“Go ask Tenthousandfold when I shall escape from this wall.”

“Very well,” says the man, and goes on his way.

He goes on till he sees a large man seated upon a golden throne, who asks him,—“Where are you going ?”

The man says,—“Are you Tenthousandfold ?”

The man says,—“Yes, I am. What do you wish ?”

He replies,—“Our priest sent me to you. I have given you one ; you are to give me a thousand.”

Tenthousandfold says to the man,—“Go home. In your courtyard there is a mulberry tree ; you will dig under it, and you will find a jar full of gold. You will receive in place of one a thousand thousands.”

Then the man asks Tenthousandfold all he was requested to ask, and, receiving the answer for each, he sets out on his return.

He comes to the priest built in the wall, and says,—“When you shall say “I have sinned,” you shall be delivered from that place.”

The priest says,—“Why should I say “I have sinned ?””

The words were no sooner spoken than wall and all were swallowed up in the earth.

The man goes on till he comes to the gardener, and he says to him,—“Take down the walls of your garden so that the passers-by may eat ; then your garden will flourish.”

He had not finished speaking when the gardener began to tear down the walls, and the garden flourished.

The man goes on till he reaches the old man, and he says to him,—“As long as you do not cease to call upon God, the gold will not fail.”

The old man replies,—“Would a man ever cease to call upon God? Praise the Lord!”

He has no sooner spoken than gold begins to gush out from the other side of the rock, more abundantly than before.

The man comes to the robbers' cave, and says,—“If you cease your robbery, there will be room for you in the other world.”

The robbers leave their cave, and go and weep for their sins and are saved.

Then the man reaches his own house. He calls to his wife and says,—“Wife, bring me a spade and pickaxe.” They take the spade and pickaxe and dig under the mulberry tree. They find a jar full of gold. Night falls, so they leave the jar there till morning.

In the night the neighbours learn of it, and come to steal the jar and carry it off. They think it contains nothing but yellow earth. They roll it back into the man's garden; the jar is broken; the earth is scattered.

In the morning they rise, and what do they see? Gold is spread all over the vineyard!

The husband calls,—“Wife, bring me the stable-broom. Gold has sprung up all over the vineyard!”

They sweep up heaps and heaps of gold pieces; not a thousand in place of one, but countless thousands, and they become very rich.

They give praise to the Lord.

They attained unto their desires; may you attain unto yours!

J. S. WINGATE.

(To be continued).

CORRESPONDENCE.

"TOTEMISM AND EXOGAMY."

(Vol. xxi., pp. 389-96.)

Admiration and gratitude are the principal feelings that Professor Frazer's new book arouses in me. If I add that I have learnt more from Professor Frazer than from any other living writer, I hope to escape every suspicion that my criticism of some of his views implies a depreciation of his greatness as an anthropologist.

By his survey of nearly all available facts relating to totemism, Dr. Frazer has rendered an immense service to the study of early religion, which has for a long time been hampered by extravagant views on the subject, held by a whole school of writers, and not infrequently represented almost as demonstrated truths. It seems to me, however, that in one or two points Dr. Frazer himself has not entirely rid himself of the influence of the old dogmas. He thinks that Robertson Smith's theory of a totem sacrament, which for many years "remained a theory and nothing more, without a single positive instance of such a sacrament being known to support it," has been "strikingly confirmed" by the Central Australian custom of killing and partaking of totems at the time of Intichiuma. He admits that this "sacrament" is not precisely the rite which was divined by Robertson Smith, its object being "not to attain to a mystical community with a deity, but simply to ensure a plentiful supply of food for the rest of the community by means of sorcery." But he still assumes that the Central Australians want to identify themselves with their totems by partaking of them, and for this assumption I find no sufficient evidence in the description by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen of the

ceremony in question. Considering that certain other totemic ceremonies, like those which are performed for the purpose of making rain, are obviously based on the principle of homœopathic magic, it is quite possible that the same principle underlies the partaking of the totem. I could quote cases from Morocco in which a ceremonial meal is an act of homœopathic magic supposed to increase the supply of food. Dr. Frazer is inclined to believe, I think on insufficient grounds, that savages originally ate their totems freely and habitually, and that they did so from a wish to identify themselves either with their totem or with their kinsfolk, between whom indeed they "did not clearly distinguish." This is an echo of the old doctrine that in early society each member of the kin testifies and renews his union with the rest by taking part in the sacramental meal. The assertion that a savage did not clearly distinguish between his totem and his kinsfolk is certainly not supported by the customs of existing totemists, even of the lowest type, who treat their totemic animals and their human relatives in very different manners, (cf. Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 207); nor is Dr. Frazer's description of the tendency of totemism to strengthen the social ties altogether justified by known facts. He repeats his old statement that the totemic tie is sometimes deemed more binding than that of blood. But, when the totemic group is identical with a social unit based on a common descent, either through the father or through the mother, how can we decide whether the strength of the tie which unites its members is due to the common totem or to the common descent? Among the Arunta and some other Central Australian tribes we have an opportunity of studying the social influence of totemism apart from that of clanship, and what do we find? "In these tribes," say Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, "there is no such thing as the members of one totem being bound together in such a way that they must combine to fight on behalf of a member of the totem to which they belong. . . . The men who assist him are his brothers, blood and tribal, the sons of his mother's brothers, blood and tribal. That is, if he be a Panunga man he will have the assistance of the Panunga and Ungalla men of his locality, while if it comes to a general fight he will have the help of the whole of his local group. . . . It is only indeed during the performance of

certain ceremonies that the existence of a mutual relationship, consequent upon the possession of a common totemic name, stands out at all prominently" (*Native Tribes*, pp. 34, 544).

In his criticism of other writers' theories concerning the origin of totemism Dr. Frazer is not always convincing. Against the American theory, according to which the totems of clans are merely the guardian spirits of ancestors transmitted by inheritance to their descendants, he argues that it encounters a serious difficulty in the comparative insignificance of the guardian spirits of women, which is hard to reconcile with descent of the clan totem in the female line. But why could not a person inherit the guardian spirit of his maternal uncle, as he in many cases inherits his property? Dr. Frazer, moreover, maintains that the theory in question is not borne out by the evidence of totemic tribes outside America, with whom personal guardian spirits appear for the most part to be wanting. This argument seems a little curious when we consider that Dr. Frazer's own theory rests on a belief which he has found to prevail in a single group of islands, among people who have no totemism in the proper sense of the word, and which he nevertheless presumes to be at the bottom of totemism wherever it occurs. Nor has Dr. Frazer, in my opinion, been quite successful in his criticism of Wilken's theory that totemism originated in the doctrine of metempsychosis,—a theory which is supported by the idea held by many Bantu tribes that the souls of their dead are incarnate in their totems. Dr. Frazer argues that, if a belief in the transmigration of souls had been the origin of totemism, that belief would have been found lingering among the Australian aborigines, "the most primitive totemic race with which we are acquainted"; hence he is inclined to regard the Bantu belief as a later development rather than as the source of totemism. But in this, as in some other cases, Dr. Frazer's reasoning is vitiated by the presumption that totemism has everywhere had a similar origin, and that therefore a theory which satisfactorily explains the origin of this institution in any one race will probably explain its origin in all races. Considering the important differences which totemism presents among different peoples, this presumption seems to me very doubtful; and, even if it were correct, we should not be justified in concluding that the form of totemism which prevails

among the lowest totemic race is necessarily of a more primitive type than the totemism of savages who have reached a somewhat higher degree of general culture. It is worth noticing that the ideas on which Wilken and the American anthropologists have based their theories are not above the intellect even of the Australian aborigines. The Dieri are reported to show great reverence for certain trees, which are believed to be their fathers transformed, and the belief in personal guardian spirits prevails among many Australian tribes.

My doubts as to the presumption that totemism has everywhere originated in the same way do not, however, extend to Dr. Frazer's parallel view regarding the origin of exogamy. This is a very different case. It is one of the many merits of Dr. Frazer's book that he has definitely separated exogamy from totemism and thereby, it is to be hoped, saved us from further speculations about the totemic origin of the exogamous rules. I also agree with his view that these rules have sprung from an aversion to the marriages of near kin. But, whilst Dr. Frazer thinks that exogamy was deliberately instituted for the purpose of preventing the sexual unions of near kin, my own belief is that the aversion to such unions, through an association of ideas, led to the prohibitions of marriage between members of the same clan on account of the notion of intimacy connected with a common descent and a common name. This theory, which calls in the law of association to explain clan exogamy, is strongly supported by the circumstance that various other prohibitions of intermarriage have obviously originated in a very similar way. How could anybody deny the operation of the law of association, for instance, in the Roman Catholic prohibition of marriage between co-sponsors, or in the rule prevalent in Eastern Europe, according to which the groomsmen at a wedding is forbidden to intermarry with the family of the bride, or in laws prohibiting marriage between relatives by alliance? Why, then, might not the same law have acted upon other relationships also, such as those constituted by a common descent or a common name? As for the influence of the name, I may refer to the fact that the Chinese Penal Code punishes with sixty blows any one who marries a person with his own surname, although among the entire Chinese population of the Empire there are

hardly more than 530 different surnames. It seems to me almost inconceivable that the extensive, cumbersome, and sometimes very complicated institution of exogamy should have been invented simply as a precaution against unions between the nearest relatives.

Granting the prevalence of an aversion to the marriages of near kin, we are confronted with the question how this aversion has originated. Dr. Frazer's answer is,—“We do not know and it is difficult even to guess.” Yet he makes a cautious attempt to solve the riddle. He observes that the great severity with which incest is generally punished by savages seems to show that they believe it to be a crime which endangers the whole community. It may have been thought to render the women of the tribe sterile and to prevent animals and plants from multiplying; such beliefs, Dr. Frazer remarks, appear in point of fact to have been held by many races in different parts of the world. But he admits himself that all the peoples who are known to hold them seem to be agricultural, and that incest is in particular supposed to have a sterilizing effect on the crops. It is indeed a poor argument to conjecture that a careful search among the most primitive exogamous peoples now surviving, especially among the Australian aborigines, might still reveal the existence of a belief in the sterilizing or injurious effects of incest “upon women generally and particularly upon edible animals and plants.” But there are much more serious difficulties in the way of accepting Dr. Frazer's theory. Is it really good common sense to presume that an aversion which had originated in the superstition mentioned could have survived among all civilised nations without showing any signs of decay? And how could any law based on it account for the normal absence of erotic feelings in the relations between parents and children and brothers and sisters? Although law may forbid a son to marry his mother, a father to marry his daughter, a brother to marry his sister, it could certainly not prevent him from desiring such a union; have the most draconic codes ever been able to suppress homosexual inclinations? Plato observed that an unwritten law forbids as sufficiently as possible parents from incestuous intercourse with their children and brothers from intercourse with their sisters; “nor,” he adds, “does the thought of such a thing ever enter at all into the minds of most of

them." Moreover, if the superstition in question were the root of the aversion to incest, we should still have to explain the origin of that superstition itself, and this Dr. Frazer has not even attempted to do. If, on the other hand, the horror of incest has originated in the way I have suggested in a theory which Dr. Frazer has subjected to a detailed criticism, the superstition which he is inclined to regard as the cause of that feeling is a very natural result of it or of the prohibition to which it gave rise. That this is the case is all the more probable because the same injurious effects as are attributed to incest are supposed to result from other sexual irregularities as well, such as adultery and fornication.

My own belief is that there is an innate aversion to sexual intercourse between persons living very closely together from early childhood, and that, as such persons are in most cases related by blood, this feeling naturally displays itself in custom and law as a horror of intercourse between near kin. Dr. Frazer admits that there seems to be some ground for believing in the existence of "a natural aversion to, or at least a want of inclination for, sexual intercourse between persons who have been brought up closely together from early youth"; but he finds it difficult to understand how this could have been changed into an aversion to sexual intercourse with persons near of kin, and maintains that, till I explain this satisfactorily, the chain of reasoning by which I support my theory breaks down entirely at the crucial point. For my own part I think that the transition which Dr. Frazer finds so difficult to understand is not only possible and natural but well-nigh proved by an exactly analogous case of equally world-wide occurrence and of still greater social importance, namely the process which has led to the association of all kinds of social rights and duties with kinship. The maternal and paternal sentiments, which largely are at the bottom of parental duties and rights, cannot in their simplest forms be based on a knowledge of blood relationship, but respond to stimuli derived from other circumstances, notably the proximity of the helpless young, that is, the external relationship in which the offspring from the beginning stand to the parents. Nor is the so-called filial love in the first instance rooted in considerations of kinship; it is essentially retributive, the agreeable feeling produced by benefits received making the individual look with pleasure and

kindliness upon the giver. Here again the affection is ultimately due to close living together, and is further strengthened by it, as appears from the cooling effect of long separation of children from their parents. So also fraternal love and the duties and rights which have sprung from it depend in the first place on other circumstances than the idea of a common blood; and the same may be said of the tie which binds together relatives more remotely allied. Its social force is ultimately derived from near relatives' habit of living together. Men became gregarious by remaining in the circle where they were born; if, instead of keeping together with their kindred, they had preferred to isolate themselves or to unite with strangers, there would certainly be no blood-bond at all. The mutual attachment and the social rights and duties which resulted from this gregarious condition were associated with the relation in which the members of the group stood to one another, —the relation of kinship as expressed by a common name; and these associations might last even after the local tie was broken, being kept up by the common name. Even we ourselves are generally more disposed to count kin with distant relatives who have our own surname than with relatives who have a different name; and still greater must be the influence which language in this respect exercises on the mind of a savage, to whom a person's name is part of his personality.

Here we have an immense group of facts which, though ultimately depending upon close living together, have been interpreted in terms of kinship. Why, then, could not the same have been the case with the aversion to incest and the prohibitory rules resulting from it? They really present a most striking analogy to the instances just mentioned. They have been associated with kinship because near relatives normally live together. They have come to include relatives more remotely allied who do not live together, owing to an association of ideas, especially through the influence of a common name; clan exogamy has its counterpart, for instance, in the blood feud as a duty incumbent on the whole clan. But there are also cases in which marriages between unrelated persons who have been brought up together in the same family, or who belong to the same local group, are held blamable or are actually prohibited; and so there are, even in early society,

social rights and duties which are associated not with a common descent but with close living together. Dr. Frazer asks,—“If the root of the whole matter is a horror of marriage between persons who have always lived with each other, how comes it that at the present day that horror has been weakened into a mere general preference for marriage with persons whose attractions have not been blunted by long familiarity? . . . Why should the marriage of a brother with a sister, or of a mother with a son, excite the deepest detestation, . . . while the origin of it all, the marriage between housemates, should excite at most a mild surprise too slight probably to suggest even a subject for a farce, and should be as legitimate in the eye of the law among all civilised nations as any other marriage?” For my own part, I believe that marriage between a man and his foster-daughter, or between a foster-brother and a foster-sister, in case the social relations between them have been exactly similar to those of blood-relatives of corresponding degrees, would cause more than a mild surprise, and appear unnatural and objectionable. I do not deny that unions between the nearest blood-relatives inspire a horror of their own, but it seems quite natural that they should do so considering that from earliest times the aversion to sexual intercourse between persons living closely together has been expressed in prohibitions against unions between kindred. Such unions have been stigmatised by custom, law, and religion, whilst much less notice has been taken of intercourse between unrelated persons who may occasionally have grown up in the same household. Nor can it be a matter of surprise that the prohibitory rules so commonly refer to marriages of kindred alone. Law only takes into account general and well-defined cases, and hence relationships of some kind or other between persons who are nearly always kindred are defined in terms of blood-relationship. This is true not only of the prohibitions of incest, but of many duties and rights inside the family circle.

Dr. Frazer raises another objection to my theory. He argues that, if exogamy resulted from a natural instinct, there would be no need to reinforce that instinct by legal pains and penalties; the law only forbids men to do what their instincts incline them to do, and hence we may always safely assume that crimes forbidden by

law are crimes which many men have a natural propensity to commit. I must confess that this argument greatly surprises me. Of course, where there is no transgression there is no law. But Dr. Frazer cannot be ignorant of the variability of instincts and of the great variability of the sexual instinct; nor should he forget that there are circumstances in which a natural sentiment may be blunted and overcome. Would he maintain that there can be no deep natural aversion to bestiality because bestiality is forbidden by law, and that the exceptional severity with which parricide is treated by many law books proves that a large number of men have a natural propensity to kill their parents? The law expresses the feelings of the majority and punishes acts that shock them.

Dr. Frazer accuses me of having extended Darwin's methods to subjects which only partially admit of such treatment, because my theory of the origin of exogamy attempts to explain the growth of a human institution "too exclusively from physical and biological causes without taking into account the factors of intelligence, deliberation, and will." This, Dr. Frazer adds, is "not science but a bastard imitation of it." What have I done to incur so severe an accusation? I have suggested that the instinctive aversion to sexual intercourse between persons who have been living very closely together from early youth may be the result of natural selection. I am inclined to think,—and so is Dr. Frazer also,—that consanguineous marriages are in some way or other detrimental to the species. This fact would lead to the development of a sentiment which would be powerful enough, as a rule, to prevent injurious unions,—a sentiment which would not, of course, show itself as an innate aversion to sexual connections with near relatives as such, but as an aversion on the part of individuals to union with others with whom they lived closely together from early childhood. These, as a matter of fact, would be blood-relations, and the result would consequently be the survival of the fittest. All that I have done, then, is that I have appealed to natural selection to explain the origin of a primeval instinctive sentiment; and I can never believe that this is to transgress the legitimate boundaries of Darwinism.

Dr. Frazer himself thinks that "we may safely conclude that infertility is an inevitable consequence of inbreeding continued

through many generations in the same place and under the same conditions," and in support of this view he quotes the valuable opinions of Mr. Walter Heape and Mr. F. H. A. Marshall. He thus finds that the principles of exogamy present "a curious resemblance" to the principles of scientific breeding, but he rightly assumes that this analogy cannot be due to any exact knowledge or farseeing care on the part of its savage founders. How then shall we explain this analogy? Dr. Frazer's answer is that "it must be an accidental result of a superstition, an unconscious mimicry of science." In prohibiting incest the poor savages "blindly obeyed the impulse of the great evolutionary forces which in the physical world are constantly educing higher out of lower forms of existence and in the moral world civilisation out of savagery. If that is so, exogamy has been an instrument in the hands of that unknown power, the masked wizard of history, who by some mysterious process, some subtle alchemy, so often transmutes in the crucible of suffering the dross of folly and evil into the fine gold of wisdom and good." I hope it will not be considered uncalled-for impertinence on my part to ask if this reasoning is a specimen of what Dr. Frazer regards as science proper in contradistinction to my own "bastard imitation of it"?

In any attempt to explain the origin of exogamy there are, in my opinion, three parallel groups of facts of general occurrence which necessarily must be taken into consideration:—Firstly, the prohibitions of incest and rules of exogamy themselves; secondly, the aversion to sexual intercourse between persons living together from early youth; thirdly, the injurious consequences of inbreeding. As for the facts of the first group, Dr. Frazer and I agree that they all have the same root, exogamy being in some way or other derived from an aversion to the marriages of near kin. As for the facts of the second group, Dr. Frazer at all events admits that "there seems to be some ground" for believing in them. As for the facts of the third group, there is complete agreement between us. I ask,—Is it reasonable to think that there is no causal connection between these three groups of facts? Is it right, as Dr. Frazer does, to ignore the second group altogether, and to look upon the coincidence of the first and the third as accidental? I gratefully acknowledge that Dr. Frazer's chapter on the Origin of

Exogamy has strengthened my belief in my own theory; and, considering on the one hand the nature of his objections to it and on the other hand our agreement in many essential points, I cannot help cherishing the hope,—although I apologise for expressing it,—that the last differences of opinion will disappear some day when Dr. Frazer is reconsidering the whole question with that fair impartiality which is one of the finest qualities of his genius.

EDWARD WESTERMARCK.

It is not necessary for me to write at much length on the points raised by Mr. Thomas's review of Dr. Frazer's great work on Totemism, for several reasons. One is that I "say ditto to" Mr. Thomas where he differs from Dr. Frazer's hypotheses and conclusions. Another is that I have already often expressed my dissent, and stated my reasons for dissenting, in my book *The Secret of the Totem*, and in papers contributed to *Man* and other serials, such as the *Revue des Idées Ethnographiques*. A third reason is that, since the appearance of Dr. Frazer's great book, I have written a little work on the topic of the origins of Totemism and Exogamy, and have laid it aside that I may revise it with fresh eyes so to speak.

My objections to Dr. Frazer's theories, as far as they have been already published, have either not come to Dr. Frazer's notice or have produced no effect on his mind. For example, he attributes to an American student a theory of my own on the question how did phratries come so often to bear the names of animals? (*Secret of the Totem*, pp. 142-53.) I wrote on Australian phratry names mainly, but was quite unaware that I had been anticipated, in the case of North America, by the author whom Dr. Frazer cites, I think with approval. Dr. Frazer was probably unaware that I had come to the same conclusion as his American writer, of whom I had never heard.

To take Mr. Thomas's points in order:—

1 (p. 390). I entirely agree with him that as, among the Arunta, "the majority" ("the great majority," says Mr. Spencer), "of any one" (totem) "kin do actually belong to a single moiety,"—or set of exogamous subclasses,—this fact needs explaining, and Dr. Frazer, I think, makes no attempt to explain it. My

explanation, (and I have tried every other that my fancy can suggest), is that the present Arunta method of obtaining totems is not early, but recent, and has not yet wholly destroyed the usual method, by which each totem is confined to a single phratry. This is no new objection to Dr. Frazer's whole theory. No reply, to my knowledge, has ever been made, except a suggestion by Mr. Spencer, to which I have found no allusion in Dr. Frazer's book.

2 (pp. 390-1). Dr. Rivers did not find "conceptional totemism" in the Banks' islands. The natives understood the nature of procreation, and what Dr. Rivers found, I think, is but one method among others, also extant there, of getting an animal or vegetable familiar.

3 (p. 391). The large number of Arunta totems,—about 200 are known,—is a peculiarity of which I have no explanation to offer; nor can I guess why plant totems are so rare in South-Eastern Australia.

4 (pp. 392-3). I had observed, before Mr. Thomas wrote, the apparent discrepancy in Dr. Frazer's view that his founders of exogamy recognised *classificatory* relationship only, and his other view that the founders of exogamy meant merely to bar the nearest *consanguineous* relations in marriage. Of course, before exogamy was instituted, there were not, and could not be, any classificatory relationships,—as Dr. Frazer seems to understand in a note in his fourth volume.

5 (p. 393). If some tribes began by reckoning descent in the male line, and if the only object in barring certain unions was an objection to *consanguineous* unions, then the tribes which began with male descent recognised the male part in procreation. But they are supposed to have had no idea of the male rôle in begetting.

Omitting other points, on which I agree with Mr. Thomas, I also wonder that Dr. Frazer did not remark on the importance of one totem to one totem marriage in the most "primitive" tribes. If this was the earliest rule, the duality of the phratries in Australia,—two and not more,—was automatic and inevitable. This I pointed out, I think, in the *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*; if I did not, it is an obvious corollary.

I also observed, before reading Mr. Thomas's review, that Dr. Frazer's statement, (vol. i., p. 248), about the primal *local* segregation of the two phratries, would necessarily make the exogamous rule impossible. Men would associate with the accessible women, those of their own phratries. The local segregation of the phratries is the result of reckoning descent in the male line, and it entails the break up of the whole "class" system of exogamy, as Mr. Howitt has pointed out.

I think it unfortunate that Dr. Frazer set aside Mr. Strehlow's two volumes on the Aranda and Loritja. Even if he suspected Mr. Strehlow and the missionaries on points of religion, the volumes are full of authentic matter which religious bias could not affect, and they contain many authentic native texts with translations. From one of these we learn that, if legend for once speaks true, the Arunta "classes" were once locally segregated as in southern Victoria.

These remarks entirely concern matters of detail. Whether they be of any weight or not, the debt of anthropology to Dr. Frazer, for a book which only his industry could have achieved, is incalculable, and deserves the sincere gratitude of all students.

A. LANG.

QU'EST-CE QUE LE TOTÉMISME?

Le problème du totémisme revient périodiquement à la surface des discussions scientifiques sous forme de crises polémiques qui commencent par affecter les savants, puis se transmettent de proche en proche jusqu'au grand public cultivé. Les deux crises précédentes se glorifient des noms de MacLennan et de Morgan d'une part, de ceux de Frazer et de Lang de l'autre; la troisième est en pleine efflorescence. L'agent responsable en est M. J. G. Frazer, et nul ne sait encore combien seront ceux qui prendront une part active au nouveau débat. Il est nécessaire d'ajouter que, jusqu'ici, seuls les Anglais, les Américains et les Français combattent dans cette lutte courtoise entre théoriciens, mais que les Allemands y ont en général assisté de loin, quelques-uns seulement d'entre eux, comme Parkinson, ayant proposé une théorie

personnelle. Quant à la propagation des théories sur le totémisme en dehors du milieu des ethnographes et des folkloristes, elle nous a été plutôt nuisible. Quand un archéologue classique comme Salomon Reinach, ou un égyptologue comme Amélineau a voulu appliquer à des faits de zoolâtrie anciens ce que Toutain appelle "l'exégèse totémique," il est arrivé que la définition du totémisme qu'ils croyaient correcte apparaissait déjà aux ethnographes comme dépassée par les dernières découvertes.

C'est pour mettre définitivement les faits de totémisme à la portée de tous les savants spécialisés dans les diverses branches des sciences historiques et anthropologiques que M. Frazer s'est donné l'héroïque peine d'édifier son ouvrage monumental sur *Le Totémisme et l'Exogamie*. Certes, j'y ai relevé plusieurs lacunes, dont quelques-unes bien graves à la fois à cause du nombre de faits oubliés et de leur importance théorique, par exemple en ce qui concerne l'Afrique Occidentale. D'autre part, étant en correspondance avec M. von Leonhardi,¹ et tenu par lui au courant de la méthode de travail du missionnaire Strehlow, j'aurais désiré de la part de M. Frazer une attitude plus bienveillante à l'égard de ces chercheurs consciencieux et sincères. Mais à côté des lacunes signalées, la masse de faits recueillis dans ces quatre volumes est d'une telle ampleur qu'on aurait vraiment par trop mauvaise grâce à pousser loin la critique du détail.

Mais M. Frazer me permettra de lui en faire une autre de portée générale et théorique. Qu'on soit ethnographe spécialisé ou qu'on désire appliquer à une discipline particulière, disons à l'archéologie classique ou extrême-orientale, les résultats acquis dans le domaine du totémisme par les ethnographes, la première question qu'on verra se dresser sera toujours celle de la définition du totémisme. Que faut-il entendre par totémisme? par quoi se caractérise ce système? à quels signes précis reconnaît-on que tel rite ou que telle coutume est ou n'est pas totémique? dans quelle mesure est-il légitime de transposer à une population déterminée

¹ En corrigeant les épreuves, j'apprends la mort de M. von Leonhardi-Gross-Karben, que tous les ethnographes seront d'accord pour déplorer profondément. Les collections Australiennes qu'il avait réunies vont aux Musées de Francfort et de Giessen; j'ignore où en est l'impression des fascicules 4, 5, et 6 de la monographie sur les Aranda.

les conclusions obtenues par l'étude d'une autre population reconnue, d'un consentement unanime, comme vraiment totémique? Ce sont là des questions pratiques; ce sera, si l'on veut, de l'application technique; mais la solution de ces questions, l'usage de cette application ne sont possibles que si la théorie générale a fondé des propositions précises où sont énumérées les caractéristiques du phénomène considéré. Ces propositions ne peuvent être atteintes que par une coordination des faits, non pas par une simple juxtaposition sur base ethnique ou géographique. Je sais bien que, pour que la démonstration soit valable, il faut présenter au lecteur les faits le plus détaillés possible, et que, tant que nous ne posséderons pas un *corpus* des documents ethnographiques, nous serons tous réduits à publier la copie de nos textes, ou du moins des résumés très étendus, suivant la méthode de M. Frazer dans le *Golden Bough* et dans *Totemism and Exogamy*. Mais si l'auteur, auquel cela serait plus facile qu'à tout autre, ne donne pas dans quelques pages de sa Conclusion les formules auxquelles son enquête l'a nécessairement fait aboutir, le risque est grand que d'autres, qui ne cherchent dans son œuvre que les propositions générales applicables à d'autres séries de faits, se trompent gravement, et prennent par exemple pour essentiel et caractéristique, ce qui n'est qu'accidentel et sporadique, sinon même aberrant.

Supposons qu'on veuille interpréter un fait ancien, (comme l'importance des renards dans les cultes de la Thrace,) fait souvent connu uniquement par des allusions passagères, des inscriptions trop brèves, un petit rite à première vue bizarre. Comment interpréter ce fait ancien autrement qu'en le rangeant dans une catégorie scientifique obtenue par le classement des faits actuels? De même qu'en chimie, il faut avoir ici un réactif, qui permette de décider que le corps soumis à l'observation se nomme ainsi et non pas autrement, est de l'acide sulfurique ou n'en est pas.

Un réactif de ce genre s'obtient en comparant les diverses formes du totémisme actuel, afin de dissocier les éléments qui leur sont communs de ceux qui ne se rencontrent que dans quelques-unes d'entre elles, ou même dans une seule. En procédant ainsi par éliminations successives, il doit rester un résidu qui constituera ce qu'on peut appeler l'essence du totémisme et qui s'exprimera

sous forme d'un certain nombre de propositions ou *principes* du totémisme. Il suffira ensuite de rechercher à propos de chaque population ancienne ou moderne si ces *principes* existent ou non chez cette population. Ayant lu avec soin la première édition du *Totemism*, Salomon Reinach en avait tiré ce qu'il avait appelé un *code du totémisme*, c'est-à-dire une liste des caractéristiques de cette institution. Mais comme ce petit livre était encore fort incomplet, le *code* de S. Reinach s'est trouvé trop large et par suite son application à des cas particuliers a été souvent erronée. Telle est la genèse de maintes exagérations dans l'explication par le totémisme de faits celtiques ou grecs, et bien d'autres ont sur ce point été entraînés plus loin qu'il ne convenait.

En recherchant si les faits de thériolâtrie et les tabous relatifs aux animaux et aux végétaux relevés à Madagascar pouvaient ou non être regardés comme des faits et des tabous totémiques, j'avais dû dégager ce que je pensais être les caractéristiques du totémisme vrai, et j'étais arrivé aux conclusions suivantes, reproduites aussi par M. Frazer (vol. iv., p. 636):—

1°. Les Malgaches n'ont pas de termes spéciaux, tels que *totem*, *siboko*, etc., pour désigner l'animal taboué ;

2°. A Madagascar, le groupement humain pour lequel un animal ou une plante sont taboués ne porte pas en règle générale le nom de cet animal ;

3°. L'animal taboué n'y est pas regardé comme le protecteur du groupement humain pour lequel il est taboué ;

4°. Alors que la plupart des clans totémiques dans le reste du monde sont exogames, les groupements malgaches sont en principe endogames ;

5°. Les rites d'initiation ne jouent qu'un rôle effacé à Madagascar.

Et je concluais qu'on ne rencontre pas à Madagascar les caractéristiques du totémisme vrai. M. Frazer accepte ces conclusions, en faisant pourtant remarquer que chez de nombreuses populations indubitablement totémiques il n'existe pas de rites d'initiation. Tel serait le cas chez les Baganda et chez beaucoup de tribus de l'Amérique du Nord. Or cette remarque de M. Frazer repose sur une confusion extrêmement grave. Les rites d'initiation totémiques ne sont pas seulement ceux qu'on

accomplit vers l'âge de la puberté, en tant que rites définitifs d'agrégation au groupe totémique; mais chez certaines populations ces rites d'initiation totémiques sont accomplis lors des cérémonies de la naissance, chez d'autres lors des cérémonies de la dénomination, chez d'autres encore lors des cérémonies du mariage, ainsi qu'on s'en rendra compte en recourant à mon livre sur *Les Rites de Passage*. Les rites d'initiation ne sont pas une catégorie rituelle autonome, et que par abstraction on aurait le droit d'isoler des autres catégories apparentées. Je défie d'ailleurs chaque ethnographe de suivre M. Frazer quand il dit (vol. iii, p. 458) "qu'on ne peut comprendre le rapport entre les rites d'initiation et le totémisme, ni entre les rites d'initiation et les sociétés secrètes." Ce rapport semble même si mystérieux à M. Frazer, qu'il nous promet presque un autre ouvrage spécialement consacré aux rites d'initiation en tant qu'institution autonome! Je ne dis pas que tous les détails de chacune des cérémonies d'initiation chez chaque population de notre globe soient chaque fois d'une interprétation aisée; mais le principe fondamental est aisément accessible, et il faut se garder, suivant la formule connue, de ne plus voir de la forêt que les arbres. Du moment qu'il y a groupement, il est nécessaire, au sens le plus absolu de ce mot, que chaque individu soit à un moment ou à un autre agrégé à ce groupement; et plus il y a de formes de société, plus il y a de formes de rites d'agrégation. On est convenu d'appeler rites d'initiation ceux qui sont exécutés aux environs de la puberté. Mais tout autant sont des rites d'initiation; les rites de la dénomination, ou ceux du mariage, ou ceux des funérailles dans ceux de leurs éléments qui ont la valeur d'un acte d'agrégation. Je crois bien que Plutarque avait déjà remarqué ces équivalences; en tout cas le défaut de Webster dans son livre sur les *Secret Societies* a été de ne pas les mettre assez en lumière. Et quant aux hésitations de M. Frazer, elles me semblent, encore une fois, incompréhensibles.

Qu'il y ait à Madagascar des rites dits d'initiation, comme la circoncision, je n'ai jamais pensé à le nier; mais je n'avais pas à en tenir compte dans mon *Tabou et Totémisme* parce que ces rites n'ont à Madagascar rien de totémique; ce sont des rites d'agrégation à d'autres formes de société que la forme de société totémique,

et aucun des éléments du pseudo-totémisme malgache n'est utilisé comme partie composante dans les rites de la circoncision à Madagascar. Il se peut que jadis je n'aie pas assez spécifié cette distinction. En tout cas la remarque de M. Frazer, que "chez beaucoup de populations indubitablement totémiques on ne rencontre pas de rites d'initiation" doit être contrôlée documents en mains ; car ces rites d'initiation, j'en trouve précisément chez les Baganda cités par M. Frazer comme n'en ayant pas : à la p. 484 du t. iii., on trouvera des cérémonies d'investiture totémique du roi à caractère de rites d'initiation, mais très atténué parce que, comme M. Frazer le montre (p. 502), le totémisme ne présente plus chez les Baganda que peu d'éléments primitifs. Il se peut d'ailleurs que d'autres enquêteurs trouveront un jour chez les Baganda un système de rites d'initiation très développé, mais à caractère sexuel et secret.

Quoi qu'il en soit, la difficulté à définir le totémisme subsiste même après le livre de M. Frazer. Ce n'est qu'un système particulier de classement des individus à l'intérieur de chaque société générale ; mais tant qu'on n'aura pas compris le procédé de fonctionnement des sociétés générales demi-civilisées, on ne pourra comprendre celui des diverses sociétés spéciales qui s'y trouvent enchevêtrées. Le système "classificatoire" est lui aussi un procédé de classement, mais absolument indépendant du classement totémique ; si on les voit parfois liés, ce n'est qu'aux points de croisement des réseaux. Je veux dire que comme chaque système de classement irradie dans toutes les directions de la vie sociale, il est inévitable que le totémisme entraîne une réglementation des rapports sexuels ou matrimoniaux, ou des deux à la fois ; de même le classement des individus par générations et par âges qui s'exprime par le système dit classificatoire a des répercussions sur la vie politique et religieuse ; de même encore le classement des individus d'après leurs métiers et occupations économiques peut interférer avec le classement à base totémique et avec le classement à base de générations. En somme, il suffit de considérer le fonctionnement à l'intérieur d'une société générale comme la nation française ou la nation anglaise de centaines de sociétés spéciales toutes munies de leurs règles et de leur hiérarchie propres,—alors que chez les demi-

civilisés il n'y a que trois ou quatre de ces sociétés spéciales enchevêtrées,—pour comprendre l'existence des croisements et des interférences dont je viens de parler. Chez nous, un même individu sera citoyen, catholique, Auvergnat, docteur en droit, lieutenant de réserve, socialiste-unifié, directeur d'un journal, membre d'une société de tempérance et d'une société de numismatique, etc., etc., et appartiendra ainsi à plusieurs groupements plus ou moins vastes ou étroits, n'ayant les uns avec les autres que des points de contact occasionnels ; en outre le fait qu'il appartient à une certaine famille et à une certaine génération (classe d'âge) le met vis-à-vis d'autres personnes dans une situation de classement différente des systèmes énumérés ci-dessus (qui sont à base : nationale, régionale, intellectuelle, professionnelle, politique, etc.). En chacun de nous viennent ainsi se croiser différents systèmes de classement, mais pour la théorie, ces contacts et ces croisements n'ont pas le sens d'un lien de causalité. De même, ce n'est pas une raison parcequ'on voit par endroits le système classificatoire et le système totémique se croiser qu'il faut les lier théoriquement l'un à l'autre.

Quand on a dit du totémisme que c'est un système particulier de classement, ou une forme particulière de société spéciale à l'intérieur des sociétés générales, il reste à montrer en quoi ce système et cette forme de société se différencient des autres. A plusieurs reprises, dans le cours de sa vaste enquête, M. Frazer s'est heurté à cette difficulté, qui préoccupe tous les ethnographes. Ayant à examiner les fétiches héréditaires du Dahomey, il constate, —“these instances and others of the same sort (Gold Coast, etc.) should warn us of the danger of hastily assuming that the hereditary worship of certain sacred animals in particular districts is identical with totemism,” (vol. ii., p. 575) ; de même à propos des habitants de la Côte des Esclaves et du Delta du Niger, M. Frazer dit, (vol. ii., p. 587), —“in the absence of the proof of the contrary, it is better to treat as distinct on the one hand the worship paid to a species of animals by all the inhabitants of a district, and on the other hand the respect shewn for their totemic animal by all the members of a totem clan ; in both cases we see a community bound together by a common reverence for a species of animals ; but whereas in the former case the community is a local group, in the latter it is a kin.”

On voit que dans ce dernier cas M. Frazer attribue une grande importance à l'élément de la parenté, presque au point, si je ne m'abuse, de regarder la présence de cet élément comme l'un des caractères-types du totémisme vrai. Pourtant, à la p. 599 du même vol., M. Frazer conclut son examen des bush-souls de la manière suivante : "What is the relation of such beliefs and practices to totemism? When a whole family—parents, children, and children's children—believe that their external souls are in a certain species of animals, and for that reason abstain from killing, eating or injuring the creatures, it is obvious that the relation in which the family stands to the species of animals bears at least a superficial resemblance to totemism"; puis vient une discussion sur la relation entre les bush-souls et les loups-garous; mais M. Frazer nous laisse dans l'incertitude primitive: oui ou non croit-il qu'il y ait là du totémisme; ou bien au contraire l'apparence est-elle trompeuse?

Il est juste de dire que dans la grande discussion que M. Frazer nous donne des "esprits-gardiens" des Amérindiens du Nord, il a indiqué ce par quoi ces esprits-gardiens se différencient, selon lui, des totems au sens strict du terme (vol. iii., pp. 449-456); mais ces définitions négatives, si je puis dire, ne remplacent pas un tableau d'affirmations positives, bien que souvent on n'atteigne, dans bien des sciences, une vue claire d'un phénomène ou d'un groupe de phénomènes que par voie d'élimination. M. Frazer note que l'esprit-gardien ressemble au totem:—1° par les tabous qui interdisent de lui faire du mal ou de le tuer, malgré des exceptions sporadiques; 2° par le tabou de le manger, entièrement ou partiellement (cf. les split-totems); 3° en ce que l'homme possède les qualités distinctives de l'animal; 4° en ce que la vie de l'homme est liée, conformément à la théorie de l'âme extérieure, à celle de l'animal; 5° en ce qu'ils sont tous deux héréditaires, du moins pour l'esprit gardien en ligne masculine. Quant aux différences, M. Frazer n'en note que deux:—1° l'esprit-gardien est en règle générale une acquisition de l'individu vers l'époque de la puberté, à la suite d'un rêve ou d'une hallucination; 2° l'esprit-gardien a un caractère religieux prédominant, au lieu que le totem a un caractère magique prédominant.

Mais comme M. Frazer a maintenant une théorie nouvelle sur

l'origine du totémisme, à savoir la théorie conceptionnaliste, dès qu'il la met à l'épreuve sur l'esprit-gardien, il voit surgir une analogie si forte entre cette sorte de "divinité" et le totem (qui n'est plus pour M. Frazer une divinité), que la conclusion du chapitre finit à nouveau en termes dubitatifs, (p. 456): "the resemblances between totems and guardian-spirits are unquestionably both many and close, and when guardian-spirits are hereditary in a family, it becomes difficult to distinguish them." Fort bien: mais n'avons-nous pas vu ci-dessus qu'il y a "danger of hastily assuming that the hereditary worship of certain sacred animals in particular districts is identical with totemism"? C'est donc que cette hérédité n'est pas un caractère-type du totémisme. Car le fait que l'animal est taboué et révérendé dans un "district particulier" est lié si intimement au totémisme chez tant de populations nettement totémiques, que l'argumentation ne saurait porter sur cette partie de la proposition citée; il me suffira de rappeler que la localité joue dans le totémisme un si grand rôle qu'on a cru pouvoir distinguer une forme spéciale appelée totémisme "local" ou "territorial."² Sans vouloir développer ici ma théorie, (je ne saurais accepter celle de M. Frazer à base conceptionnaliste), je crois bon de dire que la solution du problème des origines du totémisme ne se trouvera qu'en partant du totémisme territorial: le système de classement des individus sur la base totémique n'a pas eu d'autre objet aux origines que de répartir entre les groupements secondaires de la société générale des portions de territoire et tout ce qui était produit sur ces proportions ou y vivait.

En attendant, je me trouve fort embarrassé pour savoir ce qu'est *le totémisme en soi*. Il y a quelques années, j'ai écrit "qu'il n'y a pas *un* totémisme, mais *des* totémismes," à quoi Salomon Reinach objecta que cela n'interdit pas de rechercher ce que tous ces totémismes ont en commun, de manière à définir le totémisme en dehors des variations de détail. Ce m'est une consolation de mon ignorance que de voir M. Frazer victime des mêmes hésitations que moi, et ne pas oser décider si les bush-souls et les guardian-spirits sont, ou non, des totems!

² Je suis obligé d'adopter ce terme de *territorial* parce que M. Frazer a proposé d'appeler *local* le totémisme conceptionniste ou conceptionnaliste; cf. vol. I., p. 156, note.

Si l'on se reporte à l'index au mot *totemism*, et qu'on cherche à *définition* du totémisme, on est renvoyé au vol. iv., p. 3, où l'on lit :—
 "Totemism defined: If now reviewing all the facts, we attempt to frame a general definition of totemism, we may perhaps say that totemism is an intimate relation which is supposed to exist between a group of kindred people on the one side and a species of natural or artificial objects on the other side, which objects are called the totems of the human group. To this general definition, which probably applies to all purely totemic peoples, it should be added that the species of things which constitute a totem, is far oftener natural than artificial, and that amongst the natural species which are reckoned totems, the great majority are either animals or plants."

Même dans une définition aussi vague, M. Frazer a jugé nécessaire d'intercaler un *perhaps* et un *probably*. J'en reviens donc à la proposition que j'ai faite il y sept ans, de donner à chaque forme de totémisme ou de pseudo-totémisme un nom particulier, comme *sibokisme* pour celui des Bantous orientaux, *suliaïsme* (proposé par Hill-Tout) pour le système des guardian-spirits, *tennéisme* ou *tanaïsme* pour l'Afrique Occidentale, et ainsi de suite jusqu'à ce que l'on y puisse voir clair. En somme, les médecins ne se gênent pas pour former des centaines de mots avec la terminaison *ite* (laryngite, pharyngite, trachéite, entérite, etc., etc.), et les chimistes ont maintenant un admirable vocabulaire. Nos scrupules à donner à des phénomènes nouvellement dissociés par l'analyse scientifique un nom particulier, quitte à le fabriquer avec des termes "sauvages," sont non seulement enfantins, mais nuisibles : car si nous ne sommes pas d'accord entre nous sur le sens exact des termes que nous employons, il n'y a aucune raison pour que les polémiques sur le totémisme cessent, et il y a beaucoup de raisons pour que les historiens et les archéologues se moquent de nous, ou bien soient pris contre nous d'une irritation justifiée.

Ce qui ajoutera encore au désarroi, c'est que M. Frazer refuse maintenant au totémisme toute signification religieuse, et ne lui accorde plus qu'une signification magique : le totémisme, dit-il, est "une superstition grossière, mais non un système philosophique ni religieux." Cela mène loin : comment M. Frazer distingue-t-il la superstition, la magie, et la religion ? La religion, dit-il,

(vol. iv., p. 5), implique la reconnaissance que l'objet du culte rendu est supérieur à celui qui rend le culte; et tel ne serait pas le cas pour le totem, lequel est traité sur un pied d'égalité. . . . Il y a là matière à d'amples discussions. Pour moi, la notion d'une parenté mystique dont parlent Haddon et bien d'autres observateurs est d'ordre tout aussi religieux qu'une prière musulmane ou chrétienne; elle implique aussi ce lien de dépendance et de subordination dont M. Frazer fait maintenant le caractère-type de la religion; et je continue à regarder l'aspect "religieux" du totémisme comme une forme particulière de zoolâtrie, de phytolâtrie, etc; *l'intichiuma* des Australiens Centraux est pour moi une cérémonie religieuse autant que magique.

Ajoutez que l'exogamie à son tour cesse d'être l'une des caractéristiques fondamentales du totémisme, et sur ce point je suis entièrement d'accord avec M. Frazer, tout en me refusant à admettre son explication des origines et de la raison d'être de l'exogamie. On se demande alors ce qui peut bien rester comme typique du totémisme! Heureusement M. Frazer nous dit à plusieurs reprises que le "totémisme pur" se rencontre chez les indigènes de l'Australie. Mais lesquels? Il suffit de consulter le premier volume pour constater que ce "totémisme pur" revet en Australie à peu près autant de formes différentes qu'il y a de "nations" (au sens de Howitt), sinon de tribus. Puis, rien qu'en ce qui concerne les Australiens, M. Frazer a laissé de côté, pour des raisons sans doute mûrement réfléchies, les travaux de M^e K. Langloh Parker sur les Euahlayi, de Strehlow et Von Leonhardi sur les Australiens Centraux, et de R. H. Mathews sur d'innombrables tribus. Je ne sais toujours pas, bien que je lui aie demandé de me renseigner sur sa méthode de collection, jusqu'à quel point M. Mathews est un enquêteur digne de confiance; mais il est peut-être prématuré de tenir tout ce qu'il a publié pour nul et non avenu, en bloc.

Il est difficile, dans ces conditions, de se faire une idée exacte de ce que peut bien être le "totémisme pur" des Australiens. Or le totémisme australien ne se superpose certainement pas à celui des Néo-Guinéens, ni à celui des Amérindiens, ni à celui des Bantous, qui peuvent par suite prétendre à être considérés pour eux-mêmes, et qui ont certes inventé, puis développé leurs systèmes de classement

sur de tout autres bases que les Australiens. A voir toutes ces formes si diverses de totémisme ou de pseudo-totémisme défiler au cours des deux mille pages de M. Frazer, on éprouve, quelque aguerri qu'on soit aux contradictions ethnographiques, comme une sensation de vertige. Il eût été vraiment miséricordieux de la part de M. Frazer d'installer à la fin de chaque chapitre comme une sorte d'abri temporaire, sous forme de tableau montrant les caractéristiques des diverses formes de totémisme qui venaient d'être étudiées.

La conclusion des recherches patientes et minutieuses de M. Frazer a quelque chose de paradoxal. Ne sont plus caractéristiques du totémisme en soi : ni les tabous alimentaires, ni la règle d'exogamie, ni l'hérédité du totem, ni les rites d'initiation, ni la communion totémique, ni "l'aspect religieux," ni les marques totémiques, ni la bienveillance secourable du totem à l'égard du membre du clan, ni aucun de ces éléments de détail dont le groupement produisait un effet si imposant dans la première édition de *Totemism*. Il ne reste plus que la formule si vague citée ci-dessus, et cette notion, d'ailleurs acquise dès la découverte même du totémisme par les ethnographes, que la relation totémique affecte des *groupes* (humains, animaux, végétaux, etc.) mais non des individus...

A moins que nous ne nous décidions à dissocier, à subdiviser, et à reclasser autrement tous ces faits disparates, toujours encore englobés sous ce terme malencontreux qu'est le mot *totémisme*. Puisque les faits connus ne se laissent pas classer commodément et intelligiblement sous les rubriques traditionnelles, c'est que ces rubriques sont fautives, et c'est à nous, mais non pas aux faits, à obéir aux exigences de la science. L'histoire de l'astronomie et celle de la chimie sont pleines de ces bouleversements dans la terminologie et dans la théorie : on ne voit pas pourquoi l'ethnographie ne céderait pas aux nécessités qu'impose le progrès de la connaissance.

A. VAN KENNEDY.

REVIEWS.

LA FORMATION DES LÉGENDES. By A. VAN GENNEP. Paris : E. Flammarion, 1910. f. 8vo, pp. 326.

M. VAN GENNEP, one of the most fertile and learned of the younger French students of folklore and ethnography, has issued in a series sufficiently described by its general title of *Bibliothèque de Philosophie Scientifique*, to which many of the most distinguished scientists of France have contributed, this little book of criticism on the methods of enquiry into the genesis and growth of folk-tales. Its value is not to be measured by its size.

In a comparatively few pages the author surveys the entire area of modern research and interpretation. Of necessity the survey is summary. In short successive chapters he discusses the social and moral utility of folk-tales, their classification, and the relative antiquity of the different kinds of folk-tales. On this point he decides rightly in favour of the *saga* or tale believed to be true, told of definite individuals, definitely localized, and having an immediate purpose. He then proceeds to consider the geographical distribution of the various themes, whereof some are found only in certain wide regions, denominated by him *provinces thématiques*, while others are common to the world. In connection with this he deals with the cycles of the themes and their order in the stories, insisting here and elsewhere on the extreme fluidity of the folk-tale. The next division of the book relates to stories of the natural world, including totems and culture-heroes. The discussion of these is completed in the portion following, which embraces stories of the supernatural world. Here he boldly commits himself to the opinion that gods are evolved only from culture-heroes, and apparently culture-heroes in turn from totems. Among

stories of the supernatural world those relating to divine or quasi-divine personages are the most important, and the consideration of the tale in relation to the rite occupies a prominent place. The chapter dealing with this subject is worthy of careful study. The author comes to the conclusion that the tale preceded the rite, the ritual being founded on the tale and not the tale on the ritual; and that, while the story was elaborated by social action, its germ must have taken shape in an individual mind. Among stories of heroes and saints the legend of Heracles-Hercules is followed at length in its various incidents and their localization and development among the Greek and Roman populations. This introduces the general question of Historical Legends. Preëminently sane are the criticisms on the historical evidence afforded by folk-tales, criticisms especially needed now when this evidence has been invoked so much and so indiscriminately. That the collective memory does preserve some events is undisputed; but the laws of their preservation are little understood. Their obscurity M. van Gennep does little to penetrate, though he has much to say on the subject of the deformation of the facts by tradition. It would be greatly for the advantage of historical science, as well as of folklore, if some student would seriously attempt the investigation.

The literary history of folk-tales is passed in review, and in particular the formation of ballads, epopees, and prose *contes*. Two chapters are devoted to the relation between the legends of Don Juan and Faust and to the epic theme of the Father-and-son-combat. The author then takes up the last branch of his subject,—the formation and transmission of folk-tales. He holds that some real fact underlies every tale, though it may not be possible to trace it in most cases. Very often it is only a dream or an hallucination. Legends are still in course of formation; but time is required. Patriotism,—family, local, national, religious,—is frequently responsible. Transmission, as he has already insisted, does take place. Soldiers, merchants, sailors, pilgrims, missionaries, and professional story-tellers all carry tales. Other means of transmission might easily be enumerated. The influence of gypsies he does not count for much; it has often been exaggerated. The interesting experience of Sir G. Maspero is cited. Having told the old tale of The Two Brothers to some Egyptian schoolmasters, they

told it in their turn to their pupils, and thereby have been created in several localities centres of diffusion. The fellahs, thanks to this famous Egyptologist, have thus re-entered into possession of a tale of marvels that was the joy of their ancestors three thousand years ago, but had been long since forgotten.

The author does not arrive at any very definite results on the laws of the formation of folk-tales. His chapter on this subject concerns the building up of the tale from incidents or themes. It is probably impossible to get beyond a general statement of the influences operating to cause change, such as he had already developed during the discussions in the earlier part of the book. A tale is at first localized; its hero is individualized, its period is fixed. It is transmitted to another environment and it loses these characteristics, or some of them, altogether, or it substitutes other places, other names, and other periods. The themes of which it is composed undergo convergence with those of other stories; they are exchanged from story to story; some are lost, and others gained. We cannot now tell the influences which may have caused these changes and developments. M. van Genep criticizes with effect the theories of previous writers, and he sums up the whole enquiry with a short but pointed discussion of the various interpretations of myth and folk-tale which the progress of anthropological knowledge has relegated to the lumber-room of antiquity.

The foregoing sketch of the contents of the book will suffice to call the attention of students to it. As will be seen, it is concerned not merely with technicalities: it includes at least a partial exposition of the author's theories on many other subjects of prime interest,—the origin of religion, the evolution of ritual, the utility of myth and ritual to the social organization, and their relations to one another, the development of the drama, the dance, the narrative poem, and the *conte*, and so forth. Adequately to criticize these would be to write a thesis. But whether we accept all his conclusions or not, it will be admitted that he has produced a most suggestive work that will repay careful consideration, and much of which embodies the most valuable results of recent research. It would have been more useful if provided with references to authorities cited, or at least a bibliography. The

Scotch referred to on page 208 as possessors of ballads were Lowlanders and not Highlanders "*répartis in clans très séparés*," like the Balochi mountaineers with which he compares them.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

SOURCE BOOK FOR SOCIAL ORIGINS: Ethnological materials, psychological stand-points, classified and annotated bibliographies for the interpretation of savage society. By WILLIAM I. THOMAS. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909. Large 8vo, pp. xiv + 932.

THIS book, while it may possibly be useful to students in America and elsewhere who live at a distance from anthropological libraries, will hardly meet the wants of any scholar who has the original authorities on his own shelves. The materials are classified in seven divisions: The Relation of Society to Geographic and Economic Environment; Mental Life and Education; Invention and Technology; Sex and Marriage; Art, Ornament, and Decoration; Magic, Religion, Myth; Social Organisation, Morals, the State. The method of the compiler is to give long extracts from standard authorities, connected by a running commentary, which is, as a rule, interesting and suggestive. For example, under the heading Sex and Marriage, he reprints about forty-one pages from Professor Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage*, fourteen from Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, six from Dr. Rivers' *The Todas*, and seventeen from *The Mystic Rose* of Mr. Crawley. The section on Magic, Religion, and Myth consists of eighteen pages from Professor Frazer's *Golden Bough*, fourteen from Dr. Howitt's *Native Tribes of South-east Australia*, nine from the account of the Algonkin Manatou by Mr. W. Jones, twelve from Professor Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, and twenty-eight giving Herbert Spencer's account of the Ghost Theory of the Origin of Religion.

The value of the book depends on some quotations from sources not easily accessible, and on the classified bibliographies. The latter is the more useful feature, because these lists contain

the titles of a large number of papers from the proceedings of various societies and foreign publications, with occasional appreciations. These are acceptable in the absence of any really complete bibliography of Social Anthropology and Folklore.

W. CROOKE.

LES JOYEUSES HISTOIRES DE BRETAGNE. By PAUL SÉBILLOT.
Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1910. f. 8vo, pp. xviii + 318.

M. PAUL SÉBILLOT needs no introduction to students of folklore. The present volume is intended to vindicate the claim of his Breton compatriots to be far more than mere mystics, melancholy dreamers, possessed by their superstitions, oppressed by apprehension of the supernatural and the unknown. It comprises nearly "a hundred merry tales," many of which had previously appeared scattered through his numerous volumes. He has brought them together here to exhibit a side of the Breton character often ignored. The acute perception of the comedy of life is a true and widespread trait of Celtic character. It is the complement of the more sombre vision, of the deeply religious emotion equally characteristic of the race. The drolleries of the Irish peasant are renowned. Those who know the Welsh intimately are familiar with the depth and vividness of their humour. But that which has impressed the world at large is the more serious, the sadder mood of the imaginative Brython, whether insular or continental.

So far as the continental Brythons are concerned, this collection is designed as a corrective. M. Sébillot's eloquent preface bears testimony from his own experience to his fellow-countrymen's gaiety of disposition, of which more ample proofs are furnished in the subsequent pages. No one reading them can be dull. The Joyous Tales of our old friends the Jaguens afford mirth galore; and they are well matched with other comic adventures, animal tales, and *faðliaux*. The volume concludes with a number of naïve or facetious sermons, some of which M. Sébillot states to have been reported to him by ladies of approved orthodoxy, who have themselves actually heard them from the pulpit. The student of

folk-tales will find numbers of old favourites, which he will be able to add to his list of variants. The reader who seeks no more than amusement will find it in plenty. In nearly every case the name, place of abode, age, and often the occupation of the narrator are added as a guarantee of good faith, according to M. Sébillot's custom.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

MITTEILUNGEN DES VERBANDES VEREINE FÜR VOLKSKUNDE.
Korrespondenzblatt, N. 10, (Dec. 1909).

HESSISCHE BLÄTTER FÜR VOLKSKUNDE. Band viii, Heft 3;
Band ix, Hefte 1, 2, 3. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1909-10.

THERE is announced in the *Mitteilungen des Verbandes deutscher Vereine für Volkskunde* the establishment of a central institute (*Zentrale*) for all the German Folklore Societies. The object is to make all the known material accessible to the members. To bring this about, every *Verein für Volkskunde* is requested to send to the *Zentrale* a copy of everything published by it, as well as photographs, reproductions of pictures, etc. which illustrate folklore in its various departments. The *Zentrale* has three main departments:—(1) Bibliographical, *i.e.* a complete catalogue of all folklore literature, whether in books, periodicals, or even country newspapers; (2) a department in which pictures, photographs, etc. are classified and catalogued; (3) a department from which questions are sent out to every society. Although the object of the *Zentrale* is primarily to investigate systematically German folklore and to further its study, non-German folklore is not excluded. The seat of the *Zentrale* is in Hamburg, where magnificent libraries and the ethnographical museum are at its service. The large number of scholars who are giving their time and experience to help to carry out the object for which the *Zentrale* was established, not to speak of the perseverance and thoroughness of our German cousins, will doubtlessly insure the success of this important undertaking. Why cannot we follow their example?

The *Mitteilungen* contain also the report of the 50th Congress

of German Philologists and Pedagogues, Folklore Section, held at Graz, Sept. 27 to 30, 1909. According to one lecturer, Prof. Dr. Otto Laufer, it is still customary in certain parts of Germany to put a chaplet upon the head of youths or maidens who died unmarried. Prof. Laufer explains the wreath, not as a sort of compensation for the marriage wreath, but as a symbol of virginity. In the Middle Ages crowns made of flowers were used instead; as these, however, were made so very elaborately, police regulations were issued at the beginning of the seventeenth century to put a stop to this extravagance. At a later period these crowns were made of metal, and certain of the larger towns had some made for public use; they had to be returned after the burial. The earliest record of such a crown is found in a municipal regulation of the town of Frankfurt in the year 1774. Many crowns, says Prof. Laufer, which are shown in the museums as crowns of the Virgin, may be *Totenkronen*,—death-crowns.

The *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* (Band viii, Heft 3) contain a very interesting article on the popular belief about Freemasons by *Lehrer K. Wehrhan*. The Devil is naturally regarded as being in league with the Freemasons, whose souls become his property at their death. Sometimes, however, the Devil is cheated of his prey, either by forgetting the hour when he should have called for his victim, or the Mason asks as a third question,—(for every Freemason, it is believed, may ask three things from the Devil in return for his soul)—something which even the Devil cannot fulfil, and the contract becomes void; (see, for example, the story of the blacksmith and the Devil). Dr. Otto Weinreich supplies to this number an article on Helios as a healer of eye diseases. Herr F. Stähelin, who has lived in Surinam, relates some *Tiermärchen*, charming animal stories which he collected there. The spider plays an important rôle in these stories.

Vol. ix, Hefte 1 and 2, of the same publication contains a most interesting article by Dr. Weinberg entitled "Wunderseltzame Recept," (which we might render "Wonderfully Strange Prescriptions"). The article contains a large number of humorous amulets written for the superstitious and ignorant, collected from various old sources, beginning with Poggio (*De Brevi*, 1470),

and including such well-known names as those of Bullinger and Abraham a Santa Clara. In a footnote to p. 133 Dr. Weinberg refers to Johann Weyer's explanation (1583) of the formula *Hax, Pax, Max, Deus adimax*. This formula was written, so the book tells us, by an acquaintance of Weyer upon a slice of an apple, and then eaten. Weyer thought that the formula was a corruption of the Latin *hoc + po + mo + Deus adiuvet + (i.e. may God help with this apple)*. Those ignorant of Latin mistook the crosses for the letter *x*. A somewhat expanded formula was written, according to the same mediæval authority, upon bread or paper, which was then eaten: *O rex gloriæ Jesu Christe, veni cum pace in nomine Patris + max in nomine Filii + max in nomine Spiritus Sancti + prax Caspar Melchior Balthasar + prax + max + Deus ymax +*. The formula written upon hosts is *Pax + max + fax +*. Professor Nöldeke, of Strassburg, pointed out in the publications of the *Berliner Akademie*, 1891, that the formula *konx onx pax* is found in the Arabic tale of the Doctor and the Cook. In connection with this Dr. Weinberg refers to a remedy for healing toothache as employed in *Der Allgäu*. The sufferer must poke with a clean horseshoe nail in the hollow of the tooth. After that he must go, unseen by any one, to where two roads cross, and scratch with the nail the following words in the ground:

Rex, max, Hex

Der Zahn soll nimmer hohlen!

When reaching home again, the sufferer must drive the nail into a beam of the house which is never exposed either to the light of the sun or of the moon. On pp. 136 *et seq.* the same writer has some very interesting notes, taken from mediæval sources, on *Waffensegen*, i.e. Blessings (amulets) which make people invulnerable; and on pp. 139 *et seq.* some notes on *Feuersegen*, i.e. Blessings (amulets) which protect the house against fire. The same amulets protect also pregnant women and people who have "*die böse Krankheit*."

This number contains also an interesting collection by Heinrich Weber of *Volkslieder*, from a single village, Storndorf in Hesse. They are for the most part not of great age; some, however, date from the early seventeenth century. There are songs referring to the battles of Leipzig and Waterloo, Weissenburg and Sedan.

Of more general interest for the study of folklore are the songs called *Ständelieder*, i.e. songs which refer to the various occupations or trades, e.g. The Song of the Shepherd. It is customary, the author tells us, for the farmer, annually in the winter, to renew his agreement with his shepherd. On this occasion a great feast is always prepared, which generally lasts two days. The shepherd sings this song, and those who are present repeat every verse in chorus. The song dates from 1714. Two songs are in praise of the honourable calling of a peasant and the joy of the peasant's life. Gypsies, miners, bricklayers, tailors, threshers (who, *horribile est*, use the threshing-machine), and the night watchman, all have their song,—even the poacher, and naturally the forester, the green of whose uniform is the subject of a pretty song. The evil tongues are not forgotten, nor is a bridal-song lacking. There is also a riddle in the form of a duet. Some of the songs are based upon old ballads; others remind one of other well-known old *Volkslieder*. Some of the melodies are adaptations from older well-known tunes, but there is many a charming original tune. The collection includes 177 songs with their melodies, and sometimes the author has given variants. A study of this collection will well repay those who are interested in *Volkslieder*, either for the sake of the folklore element in them or for the sake of the melodies.

The last-mentioned number contains an article on *Der Kohl* (the cabbage). It was offered by women to the Greek gods, and was one of the firstfruits dedicated to Apollo. A fragment attributed to Hipponax of Ephesus (c. 542 B.C.) refers to a votive offering of cabbage by some one who had injured himself by slipping. Pythagoras, Hippocrates, and the later Greek and Roman *medici* attribute to it great healing and purifying power. Its sacrificial as well as its cult character are still maintained in wedding customs in certain districts of Germany (pp. 188 *et seq.*), in ceremonies connected with the occupation of a house, and, in Berchtesgaden, with those observed when a death occurs. The use of cabbage as a cult food at weddings is met with almost exclusively in that portion of Germany included in the old Roman Empire. The plant was brought to Europe by the Greeks, and Germany received it from the Romans.

H. H. SPOER.

RENWARD CYSAT (1545-1614). Der Begründer der Schweizerischen Volkskunde. Von RENWARD BRANDSTETTER. Luzern: Buchhandlung Haag, 1909. 8vo, pp. 110.

SCHWEIZERISCHES ARCHIV FÜR VOLKSKUNDE. 13^{ter} Jahrgang, Heft 4; 14^{ter} Jahrgang, Hefte 1 and 3, herausgegeben von ED. HOFFMANN-KRAYER und MAXIME REYMOND. Basel: Augustinergasse 8, 1909-10.

VOLKSLIEDER AUS DEM KANTON SOLOTHURN. Gesammelt und herausgegeben von SIGMUND GROSIMUND. (Schriften der *Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde*, No. 7.) Basel: Augustinergasse 8, 1910. 8vo, pp. vii + 111.

SWITZERLAND probably owes it to the virtual autonomy of her cantons and the admirable education of her citizens that she has always been singularly rich in local chroniclers and observers. A visit to the library or archive-room of even a small cantonal capital may be a revelation for him who has not realised that, despite terrific destruction by storms, fires, and wars, Switzerland has contrived to preserve a priceless mass of historical and scientific literature, all the more precious because of its detailed character and the innate gift for accurate observation and tabulation exhibited by its authors. These, for the most part, have been amateurs in the best sense of the word: men exercising professions which left them scanty leisure for the research-work and writings whereby they have added to the lore of their country.

Herr Brandstetter, who is happily still adding to his admirable series of monographs on the philology and folklore of old Lucerne, has lately introduced us to Renward Cysat, a native of Lucerne, the first author in the German language to record observations of importance on folklore and dialect, and the richest stylist amongst old Swiss writers.

Cysat was born in 1545 and died in 1614. He was, therefore, the contemporary of his famous countryman, Glareanus, whom he resembles in his amazing versatility and industry. Of an honoured patrician family, he was educated to be an apothecary, but, preferring a political career, took the office

of *Stadtschreiber* or Recorder of Lucerne, at that time a highly important post, which he filled in the most exemplary way. Cysat spent most of his leisure amongst "the people," for whom he had a great affection. From the lips of peasants and the unlettered classes he noted legends and lore of all kinds, besides dialects. His training in botany, natural history, and science, coupled with his talent for languages, helped him greatly in his observations, as did also his historical and political knowledge. Cysat's interest in folk-drama serves to remind us that another of his contemporaries was Shakespeare. He was appointed director of the great annual Easter-play in Lucerne, and himself wrote many plays for his fellow-townsmen to act. These, and the numerous poems composed by Cysat in the manner of the people, throw invaluable light upon the customs and dialects of old Switzerland. Whilst ably performing his political duties, Cysat found time to study and set in order the archives of Lucerne, found by him in confusion, and also to make a polyglot dictionary. His honest, sympathetic, and humorous temperament gives a singular charm to his writings. Herr Brandstetter has had access to the many manuscript folios of Cysat's work, chiefly in his own handwriting, which are preserved in Lucerne, and from them has already compiled one monograph of rare value and fascination. We look forward eagerly to this admirable editor's promised essay on *Cysat, der reichste Stilist unter den altschweizerischen Schriftstellern*.

By an easy transition we turn from the Swiss pioneer, Cysat, to some recent publications of the *Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde*, or Swiss Folklore Society, now in its fourteenth year. The three numbers of the quarterly *Journal* now under review contain much of interest. Amongst the more important articles are those on St. Luzio or Uguzo, patron of cattle-herds, and his cult; hemp-dressing parties amongst the Grison peasants, which recall the "waulking" or cloth-dressing parties of Scottish Highlanders; a folk-play, "Brunner Bartlispil"; and "Cysatiana," in which Professor Hoffmann-Krayer quotes at considerable length from Herr Brandstetter's monograph above mentioned, whilst extracting and tabulating such parts of Cysat's writings as may interest folklorists most.

Folk-song also plays an important part in the Society's publications, and Herr Meier's exhaustive "*Geschichte eines modernen Volksliedes*," in which he traces a traditional ballad to its earliest known sources in various countries, compares texts, and analyses them, is a model which all workers in the field of folk-song would do well to study. In addition to the foregoing essay we find a variety of folk-rhymes, children's games, charms, and so forth, scattered throughout the quarterly publications, and, under a separate cover, a collection of over a hundred folk-songs from Canton Soleure issued by the Society. Herr Grosimund, the collector and editor of these songs, has done his task carefully and well. He, however, includes amongst his material a considerable number of very familiar songs by known composers, Swiss and German; but, as he also appends copious notes on all the texts and tunes, giving their sources, authors, and composers when known to him, we can hardly find fault with his method, which is one followed by editors in the case of previous collections issued by the same Society. Several of the narrative texts are obviously very old, the subject-matter being primitive and the language simple and direct as in the case of all genuine folk-ballads. One, which tells of the greedy inn-keeping couple who murder a young soldier for his money, and find that they have killed their only son, calls to our mind certain versions of the same horrible story which are sung in the north of France and the Channel Islands. We find a good many parallels to our English ballad commonplaces, some so close as to suggest translation, did one not know that such stock phrases seem common to the folk-poetry of many European nations. The Christmas and May Day carols, the Nightwatchmen's songs, and the *Chilllieder* (sung by suitors at the windows of girls, when they court them at night in the authorised fashion), are amongst the older texts in the collection.

The airs noted by Herr Grosimund are of slender interest when compared with the beautiful and varied folk-tunes of Scandinavia, Russia, the British Isles, and France, or with the wild, passionate airs of Southern Europe. There is a lack of character and distinction in these Soleure melodies, owing to the fact that every one of them is in the major key and that, for the most part, they are

based upon the chords of the tonic, dominant and sub-dominant. The cadences are distinctly modern-sounding, and many of the tunes have the irritating habit, common to German popular airs, of ending on the third of scale. These various melodic points at once suggest that the songs have been "sung in parts," and from Herr Grosimund's preface we learn that most of the songs in his collection actually were sung in two-part or three-part harmony. There is no trace of real antiquity in the airs, nor are any of them modal or suggestive of having been influenced by old church-music. A similar absence of noble flowing melody, scale-variety, and originality is noticeable in five other volumes of Swiss folk-songs issued by the *S.G. für Volkskunde*, for, with a very few exceptions, the airs are modelled on the pattern of trifling modern German part-songs and the more recent form of *Jodler*. This is the more striking, seeing that the words of many of the songs wedded to this indifferent music are of uncommon beauty and charm.

LUCY E. BROADWOOD.

THE YELLOW AND DARK-SKINNED PEOPLE OF AFRICA SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI: a Description of the Bushmen, the Hottentots, and particularly the Bantu, with Fifteen Plates and Numerous Folklore Tales of these different People. By GEORGE M'CALL THEAL. Swan Sonnenschein, 1910. 8vo, pp. xvi + 397.

DR. THEAL'S various works on the history of South Africa have earned him the lasting gratitude of every student whether of the evolution of the empire or of anthropology. His labours have been crowned by the completion of his monumental *History*. Many persons, however, who are interested more particularly in the native races have not the leisure to search the pages of that great book in pursuit of the information they require. It was therefore an excellent idea to gather into a separate volume the scattered chapters on the Bushmen, the Hottentots, and the Bantu, and to incorporate further details which would have been irrelevant or at

least superfluous in the story of the colonies. The result has been to give an admirable general view of the peoples whom the European intruders found in possession of the country, and with whom they had to contend.

The Bushmen are the aboriginal inhabitants. They are among the most primitive races in the world, having affinities with peoples in Southern Asia and the Eastern Archipelago. The intrusion of the Hottentots and the Bantu into South Africa has been quite recent in historic time. Dr. Theal presents in convincing fashion the conclusions of anthropologists on this subject. The Hottentots are the descendants of a band, or bands, belonging to a race we call, for want of a better name, Hamites, who, entering Africa from the north-east, mingled their blood with the previous occupants, and gradually pushed their way, or were driven by later invaders, to the south. They were, unlike the Bushmen, a pastoral people. The prevalence of the tsetse fly probably compelled them to take a route far to the west, and ultimately brought them down the western side of the continent to the extreme south. They could not have arrived there earlier than the thirteenth or fourteenth century of our era; and they never got further along the south-eastern shore than the mouth of the Umtamvuna river, the boundary between Cape Colony and Natal. Their migrations were confined to the slopes of the hills between the sea and the great central table-land, where the best sustenance for their herds was to be found. Their progress eastward round the coast was stopped by the advancing Bantu. The ancestors of the Bantu were, it seems, another Asiatic family, who had entered Africa like the Hottentots from the north-east, and had mingled their blood with the Hamitic peoples there, and also with Negroes. From causes to us unknown they had found their way down through the centre and along the eastern shore of the continent to the south. If we may trust the Arab writers, and if the term *Wakwak*, which they apply to the inhabitants of the more southerly shores of the Indian Ocean, may be taken to represent the Bushmen, the Bantu in the tenth century had not spread beyond the Sabi river, sixty miles or so south of the present port of Beira. Their migration, therefore, on the one side of the continent, synchronized to a great degree with that of the

Hottentots on the other. More numerous and more powerful than the Hottentots, they swarmed down, tribe after tribe, over the table-land and along the coast until they had occupied the larger part of the centre and the eastern slopes, driving the Bushmen and the earlier immigrants of their own race into the more arid and undesirable spots. But for the advent of the Europeans they would doubtless have destroyed the Hottentots and the Bushmen, and become undisputed masters of the whole country. In the Europeans, however, they found more than their match. By their aid the annihilation of the Bushmen is now almost complete. The Hottentots only survive as a separate people in Great Namaqualand and along the banks of the Vaal and Orange rivers, near their junction; and their language is gradually dying out, supplanted chiefly by Dutch. But the Bantu themselves have become a subject-race, whose ancestral customs and institutions are in decay, though their numbers are multiplying to such an extent that their relations with the dominant race have given rise to the most difficult questions of South African polity, the solution of which will demand the highest statesmanship.

Able and lucid, however, as is Dr. Theal's discussion of the pre-history of the native populations, and his account of their customs, beliefs, and institutions, they would have been of much greater service if they had been accompanied by constant reference to authorities. The retrospective portion of the work is indeed furnished with some references, the chapter on the Mohammedan writers especially; and it is no small advantage to have the latter quoted as they are in full. Much also of the presentation of the Bantu culture is doubtless derived from the distinguished author's personal enquiries. Still, the Bantu tribes differed so widely among themselves in their customs, that it is difficult to know to what tribes any specific statement really applies. Proper references would have enabled the reader to ascertain this.

Dr. Theal bases his account of the reverence of various Bantu tribes for animals exclusively on their cult of the dead; and he ignores its relation to similar practices elsewhere, as in Australia and North America, where the cult of the dead is more feebly or hardly at all developed. The paragraphs devoted to the subject are taken bodily, (as indeed is much of his chapters describing

the Bantu), from the seventh volume of his *Records of South-Eastern Africa*. I do not complain of this, for the work is avowedly a reprint of material which has already appeared. But it is a reprint with so many additions "as to make this practically a new book." It is therefore to be regretted that the author seems quite unaware of recent research on customs and institutions, such as those found among the natives of South Africa. There can be no doubt, for example, that the reverence for animals among the Bantu is totemism. Other objects than animals are also revered; and what authority Dr. Theal may have for ascribing such objects of veneration as the wild vine, the sun, the sky, rain, and so forth, to a recent development among "tribes that have long since lost all knowledge of the belief of their remote ancestors" he does not inform us. That the veneration of the *siboko* (totem) has been influenced by the Bantu cult of ancestors is probable. But that it is no more than a branch or development of that cult by no means follows. As pointed out by Prof. Frazer in his criticisms of Dr. Theal's theory, and in his general account of Bantu totemism (*Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii.), and by myself (*Encyclopædia of Religion*, art. Bantu), the Bantu possess other customs connected with totemism. The influence of the cult of the dead has in fact hastened the decay and not the development of their totemic beliefs and practices.

Dr. Theal attributes the social position of the mother's brother (*malume*) among the Bantu to the delay in payment of the bride-price. "It very seldom happened," he says, "that the whole, or even the greater number, of the cattle [which constituted the bride-price] were transferred until many years after the marriage. It might almost be said it never happened." Until this payment took place the bride and her children were not fully transferred to the bridegroom's family and power. In the meantime her brother "had the right of control over" the children, "with the corresponding duty of giving protection and assistance if necessary;" and he received a share of the cattle given for her daughters on their marriage. But, if the non-payment of the bride-price were the real ground of the position of the *malume*, the rights and duties referred to would vest in, and be imposed upon, the bride's father, not her brother. This, however, is not the case. The

delay in payment of the bride-price may have helped to perpetuate the position of the *malume* among a people reckoning descent through the father. But by far the most probable account deduces it from the authority and responsibilities of the brother in a family of uterine descent. Not to mention the true Negroes, many of the Bantu tribes north of the Zambesi and in the Congo area are organized on the basis of uterine descent, while in South Africa the Herero are in what appears to be a state of transition from the uterine to the agnatic family. Where kinship is reckoned exclusively through the mother, the head of the family is one of her uncles or brothers. His rights over the children extend sometimes to life and death, more often to sale or pledging for the debts of the family; and the corresponding responsibilities for their maintenance and protection rest upon him. The bride-price very often includes no more than the right of cohabitation; at most it is only one of the means by which the transfer of the *potestas* and of kinship is effected. There are numerous examples among the Bantu of West Africa and the Negroes where the payment of bride-price results in the transfer of neither. In these cases the father may obtain the *potestas* by advancing money or goods to his wife's family by way of loan upon security of the children, or more rarely by specific purchase. Such a transaction, if common, leads ultimately to the reckoning of kinship through the father; for paternal kinship is usually conceived in that stage of civilization in terms of property.

With one exception the Bantu folk-tales given by Dr. Theal are incorporated from his well-known *Kaffir Folk-Lore*, published nearly thirty years ago. His preliminary observations on the morality of the stories are just. But this morality is by no means peculiar to the Bantu. It pervades the folklore of the Negroes and of all races in a similar degree of culture. The stories are largely concerned with animals; but these animals are not simply "animals that spoke as human beings," as in the fables of more civilized nations. They are much more. No line of cleavage existed in the imagination of the story-tellers between man and other animals. All alike were animated by human reason and human passions, and even their outward shapes were evanescent and interchangeable. There was, in short, complete confusion

between human and non-human beings. The fables of more civilized peoples have grown out of the same condition of thought; but while European fables are now, and so far as they have penetrated into literature, feigned, because those who tell them have outgrown the childish mentality of those who originated them, the Bantu still "really believe many of the actors in these tales to have had an existence, so that they are not merely stories to amuse children." The Bantu, in fact, are still struggling in the maze of shape-shifting and impermanence of form characteristic of archaic thought. Among the Negroes it is not an uncommon thing for such animal tales to be adduced, if not as precedents, at least as illustrations in solemn judicial decisions; and probably Dr. Theal could from his own experience as a magistrate add similar instances among the Kaffirs.

The much-discussed incapacity of the Bantu for European education beyond a certain age has its due share of Dr. Theal's attention. The extracts he gives from the *Report of the Cape Committee on Native Education* and from the *Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission* do not lead to a very satisfactory result. Nor does he express any definite opinion on the causes or the extent of the incapacity, though he notes that there are numerous and important exceptions to the general rule. So far as can be gathered from the evidence brought together in these pages and elsewhere, it appears to be due to the awakening of, and the concentration of thought on, the sexual passions. The puberty ceremonies and other incidents of native environment encourage the attitude of mind thus induced, and effectually distract it from healthier influences. Similar results, though perhaps less intense, are observable in the youth of our own country. Released from the elementary schools, numbers of them speedily forget what they have learned there, and settle only too surely into a stunted life, in which the only subjects of interest are "sport" and the gratification of animal instincts. The remedy in both cases is the same. The education must from the beginning be less purely literary; it must be concerned to a greater extent with the things of every day, with industrial training and natural surroundings; and it must be continued through the dangerous period of adolescence, not merely for its

own sake, but also for the purpose of withdrawing the boy or girl from debasing influences.

I have touched on only a few of the interesting matters treated in these pages, but it is not for want of appreciation of other parts of the work. As a general view of the native races, their migrations, customs, and mental activities, it may be commended as forming an excellent introduction to more detailed study. The conclusions to be derived from such a study will not always coincide with those expressed by the author. Anthropology is a science that has made great strides during recent years. The orthodoxy of yesterday is discredited to-day; and the orthodoxy of to-day may in its turn be the heterodoxy of to-morrow. Dr. Theal's work, however, will never be without a large measure of value.

Many of the plates are from photographs in the South African Public Library, hitherto inaccessible to students at home. Some of them are of great anthropological interest.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

VILLAGE FOLK-TALES OF CEYLON. Collected and Translated by
H. PARKER. Vol. i. Luzac & Co., 1910. 8vo, pp. vii +
396.

THIS collection of folk-tales from Ceylon is welcome because, in the first place, little has hitherto been done to explore the folklore of its people, and, secondly, because the author is well equipped with a knowledge of the island, its history, dialects, and races, and is also acquainted with the more important collections of Indian folk-tales, the connection of which with Ceylon is naturally close. He is careful to observe the essential rule of stating clearly the provenience of the tales, he supplies a useful commentary, and his graphic introductory sketch of village life and manners enables us to estimate the influence of environment on local traditions.

The tales fall into two groups, which present interesting points of analogy and contrast: first, those of the cultivating caste and

of the aboriginal Veddas; second, those drawn from the lower castes, including the drummers, (who, like the weavers of India, are proverbially simpletons), and those told by the Durayas or porters, the Rodiyas, a semi-vagrant tribe, and the Kinnaras, who stand at the bottom of the social system.

The connection between the people of Ceylon and India, due to immigration and propinquity, is so close that we may naturally expect to find a close resemblance in the folklore of the island and that of its greater neighbour. Into this question, save by the quotation of numerous parallels, Mr. Parker does not enter in detail. Whatever connection there may be appears to be largely pre-Buddhistic, because Buddhism seems to have had little influence on the lore of the folk, and there is little in this collection which is drawn directly from the Jataka. We find no tales which can be identified with the Sindibad series or other cycles included in the *Arabian Nights*. Many of the stories are certainly very old, though save in a few cases it is impossible to assign exact dates to them; for example, there is no mention of the Portuguese, who arrived at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In short, the exceptional interest of the tales rests on the fact that, to use Mr. Parker's words, "we have in them the only existing picture of the village life of ancient times, painted by the villagers themselves. From the histories we can learn practically nothing regarding the life of those of the ancient inhabitants of Ceylon who were not monks or connected with royalty, or the conditions under which they existed." For knowledge of such things we must go to the folk-tales.

The tales include many familiar *motifs* and incidents which can be recognised in the folklore of India and other countries. For example, we have the primitive legend of the sky resting on the earth; the pursuit of the hero by an ogre and his preservation through magical obstructions; various cases in which the ogre, like the Devil in European folklore, is befooled; the separable soul, ("Today my death is in my thumb"); the life-index, ("Should I be not alive, the blue lotus flower will fade, and the lime trees at your house will die"); the destruction of the ogre by driving a thorn into his head, which is compared with the common Black Magic practice of fixing thorns or nails in a wax figure; two

versions of the braggart whose plans are upset by the loss of his property, like Al-Nashshar the Babbler, the fifth brother of the immortal barber in the *Nights*; the accumulative tale, like "The House which Jack built"; "Puss-in-Boots," where the hero is a monkey; the helpful animals; the Mouse Maiden, a variant of "Cap o' Rushes"; the Jackal enticing the deceitful crocodile into an enclosure as he decoys the tiger back to his cage in the Indian variant; and an early version of the Jataka tale of the deceitful crane who is throttled by the crab.

Though the social life of early days is abundantly illustrated, there is not as much reference to early custom or ritual as might have been expected. In the case of marriage we meet the Beena form which is now obsolete among the Sinhalese, and the substitution of a sword for the bridegroom. Religious beliefs deal chiefly with demonology, and the local deities with their cults and legends receive little notice.

It may be hoped that the reception of this introductory volume will encourage the author to continue the series.

W. CROOKE.

PAPUAN FAIRY TALES. By ANNIE KER. Macmillan, 1910.
8vo, pp. xi + 149. Ill.

MRS. KER's little budget of Papuan tales is a good example of the popular, as contrasted with scientific, collections of folklore. For the serious student of the subject its value is much reduced by the absence of the names of the tellers of the stories, the analysis of incidents, and a glossary of the native terms employed throughout. Again, these are not "fairy tales" in the ordinary sense of the word, only one story being concerned with fairies, who are really spirits of the jungle, not kindly, but hostile to mankind. Even with these reservations the collection contains much interesting material.

We have, first, the usual savage aetiological myths to explain peculiarities in birds or animals or to account for cases of tabu. Thus we are told why the turtle carries a shell on his back; how some slain enemies became flying foxes, whose cry is that of a

soul in pain ; how the flying fish bears on its head the mark of a blow from a piece of coral ; why a coco-nut looks like a human skull ; and so on. Other tales account for primitive tabus, such as the refusal of certain people to eat fish and of women in general to touch the flesh of the cassowary.

The tales include many familiar incidents, such as supernatural birth and forgetfulness, the life token, the theft of fire, and the like. There are several tales of snakes, sorcery and witchcraft, and cannibalism. The Papuan version of the descent to the Under-world, as in the cases of Heracles, Dionysus, Orpheus, the Babylonian Ishtar and Gilgames, and the Scandinavian Hermode, is interesting. Here a man's wife dies and goes to Ioloa or death-land. His dog finds a cleft in the earth down which the husband creeps. When he reaches death-land, he finds that here the bones of the dead lie scattered during the day, but at night their owners recover them and come to life again. The wife saves her husband from the dead, who would slay him if they found him. She promises to meet him on the third day and return with him to the living world. But, as he returns, he plucks coco-nuts, scented herbs, and wild limes to show to the men on earth in proof of the feat which he has accomplished. These the dead snatch from his hands, and he returns to earth. Then the dead cover with a great stone which no man can lift the hole through which he had descended, and he is unable to revisit death-land and sees his wife no more.

If, as may be hoped, Mrs. Ker publishes another instalment of these tales, it would be well that she should comply with the only conditions which can render them valuable to scientific students of folklore.

W. CROOKE.

ALONG THE OLD NORTH TRAIL: OR LIFE, LEGENDS, AND RELIGION OF THE BLACKFEET INDIANS. By WALTER M'CLINTOCK. Macmillan, 1910. 8vo, pp. xxvi + 539. *Col. and other ill.*

It is with special pleasure that I have read Mr. M'Clintock's charming book, as during August, 1909, I had the privilege of

joining Mr. Edward S. Curtis in his expedition to the Blackfeet of Montana; we camped on the prairie, being in daily contact with these Indians. It would be foolish if I pretended that this superficial knowledge of a few Indians constituted me an authority on their manners and customs, though incidentally I did manage to pick up a fair amount of information which has enabled me to check the author in a few instances, and, needless to add, I have not caught him tripping. But what was of more value to me, on this occasion, and when, some years previously, I saw a little of the Pawnee in Oklahoma, I obtained a glimpse of the religious life of the Indian; I sat through one night of the Morning Star ceremony of the Skidi Pawnee, danced the Medicine Pipe Dance of the Catchers' band, and also sweated with Blackfeet in a sweat-lodge. These and other experiences have profoundly impressed me with the deep religious feeling which permeates the minds of the older men, and I have thus been enabled more fully to understand the writings of Frank Cushing,—whose death was a great loss to American ethnology,—and the remarkable, sympathetic studies of Alice Fletcher; and now M'Clintock's book revives my own memories, and will enable those who have no personal acquaintance with American Indians to appreciate the wonderful spirituality and strength of character that lies behind the severe visage which serves as a mask when in contact with others. Mr. M'Clintock has lifted this veil, and he and his Indian friends have shown us the essential man behind it. This alone was well worth doing, but in addition we have a personal narrative of travel and adventure, and an interesting account of the varied aspects of that camp life of the Indians which is rapidly becoming a thing of the past. The stories told by the old men, and the narratives of the author, Grinnell, and Schultz, enable us to recover somewhat of the joy of life in the days when the bison roamed the prairie in countless numbers. Then, before the advent of the white man, the Blackfeet and other tribes lived the life of men; now, alas! "Ichabod" is writ large over their destiny, and their prospects are not reassuring. The iron heel of material progress has ground them down, and, unless they march with the times, the citizens of the United States have "no use" for them.

Along the Old North Trail is not a systematic treatise, and the student will not find a well-ordered statement of the customs and beliefs of the Blackfeet, but will have to cull for himself from all over the book the folk-tales, magical practices, religious ceremonies, or whatever it may be that particularly interests him. The book is enriched with a very large number of excellent photographic figures and plates, which not only beautify the volume but really illustrate the letterpress and enhance its ethnological value.

A. C. HADDON.

SHORT NOTICE.

Cat's Cradles from Many Lands. By KATHLEEN HADDON.
Longmans, Green, & Co., 1911. Small 8vo, pp. xvi + 96.
59 ill.

MEMBERS who were fascinated by the strange and complicated feats with strings performed by Dr. Rivers and Mr. Ray, in the fashion of the Torres Straits islanders, before the Society ten years ago, and all who want a comprehensive and compact work of reference on string figures less expensive and more up-to-date than the fine volume issued by Mrs. Jayne in 1906, should hasten to obtain this admirably described and clearly illustrated account. Miss Haddon seems to have laid under contribution every available source of information, whether in printed books or in the notebooks and memories of travellers, and her book is one to be put into the hands alike of dwellers amongst uncivilised natives and of those living amongst peasants. If the recipients are not yet folklorists, they should be lured by it into the collection of some of the many cat's cradles not yet recorded, and so take their first step along the primrose path of folklore study.

Books for Review should be addressed to
THE EDITOR OF *Folk-Lore*,
c/o DAVID NUTT,
57-59 LONG ACRE, LONDON, W.C.

Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

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[No. II.]

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 15th, 1911.

THE PRESIDENT (MR. W. CROOKE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the December meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. E. H. Crooke, Mr. R. H. Crooke, Mrs. Greenaway, Mr. H. S. Kingsford, Mr. G. Roheim, the Rev. J. R. W. Thomas, Miss D. Torr, and Mr. A. L. Whitehorn as members of the Society, and the admission of the Omaha Public Library and the Fulham Public Library as subscribers to the Society, were announced.

The resignations of the Countess Amherst, the Rev. A. C. Dawson, Mr. Halliday Sparling, and Mr. M. S. Thompson were also announced.

Miss D. H. Moutray Read read a paper entitled "Hampshire Folklore." In the discussion which followed Mr. E. Lovett, Miss Burne, the Rev. R. M. Heanley, Mr. Torday, Major O'Brien, Mr. F. G. Green, and the President took part. A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Miss Moutray Read for her paper.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Mr. E. Lovett:—A number of horse brasses, a tree-planter's tally, a cricket "score" as used about 1860, and three divining rods, all from Sussex.

By Mr. A. R. Wright:—From Mexico,—ancient clay figure with rattle and whistle, stone toad or frog, seated clay figure enclosing a rattle, number of stone and jade heads of various types, jade human figure pierced for suspension or attachment, axe-shaped obsidian pendant worked to an edge and semi-transparent (found in laying the foundations of a fortress built by Santa Anna at Chilpancingo), light-green jade lance-head, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and pierced and incised (from the burial ground, Old Town, Mexcala), obsidian symbol (from island in Lake Texcoco), and clay ideograph (?) ;—from the monastery of Kargoe, Mount Athos, ancient Russo-Greek cross of cypress wood, beautifully carved, used in blessing the waters at Epiphany ;—and from Churiqui (Panama), gold pendants from an "Inca" grave.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 15th, 1911.

THE PRESIDENT (MR. W. CROOKE) IN THE CHAIR.

MR. CECIL J. SHARP read a paper on "Morris Dances and Sword Dances." The paper was illustrated by sword dances as now performed at Kirkby Malzeard and Grenoside in Yorkshire and at Earsdon in Northumberland. In the discussion which followed Mr. Calderon, Col. Cockburn, the Rev. Keighley Snowden, and the President took part. A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Sharp for his paper, and to the gentlemen who had taken part in the dances.

THE POPULAR RITUAL OF THE GREAT FEAST IN MOROCCO.

BY EDWARD WESTERMARCK, PH.D.

(Read at Meeting, June 15th, 1910.)

ON the tenth day of the month of *Du 'l-hijja* the Muhammedan world celebrates its yearly sacrificial feast, known under different names in different Moslem countries. In Morocco the Arabic-speaking population call it *l-'id l-kbtr*, "the Great Feast," and the Berbers (*Brâber*) living south of Fez *l'id amkkâran*, which means the same.¹ So far as I am aware, the popular ritual of this feast has never before been studied in full among any Muhammedan people, apart from its connection with the Meccan pilgrimage; hence I hope that a detailed account of the manner in which it is celebrated in Morocco may be of some interest.

The customs and rites connected with it may be divided into the following groups:—(1), practices of a purificatory or sanctifying character the object of which is to prepare

¹ The Muhammedan population of Morocco may be divided into the following groups:—the Arabic-speaking tribes of the plains (the '*Arab*'); the Arabic-speaking mountaineers of Northern Morocco (the '*Jbâla*'); the Berbers of the Rif (*Rudfa*), whose country extends along the Mediterranean coast from the neighbourhood of Tetuan to the Algerian frontier; the Berbers called *Brâber*, who inhabit the mountain districts of Central Morocco; the Berbers called *Šluh* (*Šlūh*), who inhabit the chief part of the Great Atlas range, and also the province of Sûs, situated to the south of it; and, lastly, the Berbers called *Drâwa*, who inhabit the valley of the Wad Drâ in the extreme south of Morocco. To the last-mentioned group no reference is made in the present article.

the people for the holy feast and its principal feature, the sacrifice; (2), preparatory practices the object of which is to purify or sanctify the sacrificial animal, and also the instrument with which it is to be slaughtered; (3), the act of sacrifice itself; (4), practices by means of which the people aim to utilize the *baraka*, or benign virtue, of the sacrificed victim; (5), practices by means of which they aim to guard themselves against, or rid themselves of, the evil influences of the feast and its sacrifice.

The people must purify and sanctify themselves in order to benefit by the holy feast and its sacrifice, and also to protect themselves against supernatural danger; for holiness implies not only beneficial energy but also a seed of evil, which is particularly apt to affect an unclean individual. Personal cleanliness should be observed. The men and boys have their heads shaved, and many persons have a bath; in Fez the barbers' shops and the hot baths are kept open throughout the night preceding the feast. On the morning of its first day the people dress themselves in clean clothes, and those who can afford it put on new shoes. Among the Arabs of the Híáina and their neighbours, the Brâber of the Ait Sâddën, it is the custom to purify the clothes with rose- or orange-water, or to fumigate them with agal-wood (*'Ad kmâri*) or other incense commonly used for the purpose of keeping off *jinn*, or evil spirits.

An important preparation for the feast is the application of *henna* to persons, animals, and dwellings. This colouring matter, produced from the leaves of the *Lawsonia inermis* or Egyptian privet, is considered to contain much *baraka*; hence it is not merely a favourite cosmetic among the women, but is also frequently used as a means of protection against evil influences. Among all the country people with whose customs I am acquainted, whether Arabs or Berbers, the women paint their hands, and very commonly also their feet, with *henna*, as a rule on the eve of the feast; whereas



THE MŠALLA OUTSIDE BĀB FṬŪH AT FEZ



the women of Fez are too busy with household duties on this occasion to have time to subject themselves to that process, accompanied as it is by certain inconveniences. The painting of the married women is not infrequently more profuse or more elaborate than that of the unmarried ones. Children of either sex are commonly painted in the same manner as the unmarried women; but, among some Berber tribes at least, *henna* is more liberally applied to girls than to boys, the latter having it daubed on their hands only, or even confined to the right hand. The grown-up men either entirely abstain from it or only smear it on the palms of their hands or the tips of their fingers, or dip the little finger of their right hand into it; but unmarried young men often make a larger use of it. Among the Ait Sâddên left-handed bachelors daub it on their left hand instead of their right.

In many cases the women not only paint their hands and feet with *henna*, but also rub their hair with it; this, however, is never done on the eve of the feast, but on the first or second day of it. Among the Brâber of the Ait Warâin it is the unmarried girls that are addicted to this practice; and that it is not merely looked upon as a means of improving their beauty appears from the fact that they are supposed to lose their hair unless they rub it with *henna* before the hair of the sacrificed animal is singed off on the first day of the feast. The Brâber of the Ait Ngêr, (in Arabic called Bni Mîr), smear a little *henna* on their navels on the eve of the feast in order to prevent indigestion.

Henna is applied to domestic animals as well as people, especially to such white spots as may be found on their bodies. In certain tribes it is the custom to daub it on the foreheads and chests of horses, mules, and greyhounds, and also on their feet; of the Rifians of the Ait Wâryâgâl, who are great hunters, I was told that they apply *henna* to the feet of their greyhounds only, but not to any other

animal, on account of its being scarce among them. The Ait Sâddën smear some *henna* on the foreheads of their cows, goats, and sheep, and on the tips of the sheep's tails, or, if they have a considerable number of animals, sprinkle them with a mixture of *henna* and water. Other Berbers put a little *henna* on one animal of each species, and the Brâber of the Ait Yûsi and the Arabs of the Hîâina on the sires of their sheep. Arabs and Berbers that live in tents also smear some *henna* on their tent poles, and the Ait Sâddën on the vertical poles supporting the roofs of their houses.

Among various tribes the women on the eve of the feast or afterwards paint their eyes black with antimony (*khol*), and their lips and teeth brownish with walnut root or bark (*swak*). There is *baraka* in these paints also. Hence menstruating women must abstain from their use; hence, too, among the Jbâla of Andjra the scribe who conducts the service on the first morning of the feast has his eyes coloured with antimony. Among the Arabs of the Ulâd Bu-'Âziz, in the province of Dukkâla, this is the case with other men as well.

There are other practices, of a more religious character, that are intended to prepare the people for the celebration of the feast. On the day preceding it, the so-called *nhâr 'Arafa*, "the day of 'Arafa,"² visits are paid to the tombs of saints, since such visits are believed to confer *baraka* on the visitor. The Ulâd Bu-'Âziz on this occasion take home with them some earth from the saint's tomb,—they call this earth "the *henna* of the saint,"—and also some dates which they buy at the place.

Everywhere in Morocco it is considered meritorious, but not obligatory, to fast on the day of 'Arafa till sunset, and there are a good many persons who do so, although in some tribes their number is infinitesimal. That this fasting, in spite of its religious significance, has not altogether lost its

² It has its name from the hill of 'Arafa, or 'Arafât, which on this day is visited by the pilgrims.

character of a magical means of purification, appears from the belief of the Ulád Bu-'Āzîz that he who has been fasting on the day of 'Arafa and on the following morning and breaks his fast by eating part of the liver of a sacrificed animal, and in addition to this says a hundred *rek'ât* (forms of prayer), is thereby enabled to pronounce curses of very great efficacy. Among the same tribe nobody is allowed to make *séksu*, their staple food, on the eve of the feast; and the Rifians of the Ait Wāryâgāl abstain on that evening, and as long as the feast lasts, both from this food and from their ordinary daily dish, *damrekî*, a kind of porridge made of dried beans.

Almsgiving is another method by which the people prepare themselves for the feast. Among various Arab and Berber tribes, on the day of 'Arafa, the children of the village go about from tent to tent or from house to house in their own village or in neighbouring villages as well, singing a song with a view to inducing the inhabitants to give them presents of food or money. Among the Ulád Bu-'Āzîz the ambulating boys, accompanied by the little girls, sing as follows:—'*Arfa, 'Arfa, lālla meimāna! a mūlāt l-hāima, a'tēni bāida bāida baš nšauwāḡ lōhi, lōhi 'add t-tālēb, t-tālēb b-šhābu fī j-jīnna ytišābu. a 'Aiša wa Hītma, rāfdāt l-līma lēt-tūlba mersūla!*' ("'*Arfa, 'Arfa, propitious lady! O mistress of the tent, give me an egg, an egg that I may paint my writing-tablet, my writing-tablet is with the scribe, the scribe and his friends will find each other in Paradise. O 'Aiša and Hītma, who take away the guilt which was sent to the scribes!*'"). In some places the ambulation of the children commences on the previous day, which is called *nhār Mīna*³ or '*Arafa ṣ-ṣḡēra*,

³ It is on this day, the 8th of Du 'l-ḥijja, that the pilgrims proceed from Mecca to Minā, to which place they again return from 'Arafa on the 10th, when the sacrificial animals are killed. The Brāber of the Ait Wardīn call the day in question *Umna*. In the East, Minā is also called Muna (Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*, 1898, vol. ii, p. 180).

"the little 'Arafa," in contradistinction to 'Arafa l-kbīra, "the great 'Arafa," that is, the day of 'Arafa proper; and in Fez small groups of little girls from the Arab villages outside the town visit the houses for a similar purpose from the beginning of the month till the day of 'Arafa inclusive. They sing the following song:—*Ārifā mbarkā mīmāna, 'Ārifā mbarkā mīmāna! hāya Hāmmu, hāya Hāmmu, nāwud hēt'ek wulla yimmak t'a'tēt šī, wulla nēmšī. nāt'ek ūlid bel-kummtya u š-šāštya wā rkāb jādā nhar l-'id*, ("Ārifā blessed and propitious, Ārifā blessed and propitious! Halloo Hāmmu, halloo Hāmmu, make your sister or your mother get up to give me something, or otherwise I am going away. I shall give you a little son with a dagger and a pointed red cap and a new stirrup on the day of the feast"). During my stay in Fez in the winter 1909-10 I had myself a visit of a small group of these girls, nicely dressed and with their cheeks painted with red cosmetics. On the children's return from their round it is in some places the custom for them to have a feast on the food thus collected; and among the Ait Sāddēn it is believed that if any grown-up person should come and partake of the meal he would derive merit from it, no doubt on account of the *baraka* attributed to food given in charity to children, who, according to Moorish ideas, are semi-saintly beings. In other places, again, the children divide the presents between themselves, each of them taking home its portion to give it to its parents or to use it for its own benefit. In Dukkāla and Ġarbiya some of the corn or flour and salt collected by the children is put into the mouth of the sacrificial animal immediately before it is killed.

The gifts to the ambulating children are believed to confer merit on the givers, and consequently serve a purifying or sanctifying object. They form part of the almsgiving which in some form or other precedes the feast and is continued after the sacrifice has been per-

formed. Among the mountaineers of Andjra, where the schoolboys go about collecting food and money, not before this feast but on the day of 'āšūr or 'āšūra, (the 10th of Moharram), and two days previously, the people distribute alms among the poor on the day of 'Arafa; and among the country folk in various parts of Morocco it is the custom on the morning of the first day of the feast, which is called *nhār l-'ūd*,⁴ to give charity consisting of figs or some kind of bread to children from other households or poor people. In some cases, at least, this is done on behalf of deceased members of the family; the Ulād Bu-'Āziz therefore call these alms *ṣaddāqat l-māra*. It is the universal rule in country places that the men of the village on that morning take their breakfast in common, either in the village mosque or at the sanctuary of some deceased saint or in a large tent, exchanging food with one another; while the women not infrequently are sharing food with other women from neighbouring households, or breakfast all together in a tent apart from the men. Among the Ulād Bu-'Āziz the men, after finishing the meal, ask God to grant them a good year and a blessed feast, to have mercy on their parents and the Sultan, and to bestow peace upon the Prophet. Among the Ait Wāryāgāl the men have a common meal in the village mosque not only on the first morning of the feast but on the previous morning as well; and on this occasion the women take their breakfast in the cemetery of the village.

No religious rite is looked upon as more purifying or sanctifying than prayer. There are persons who get up to pray in the middle of the night preceding the first day of the feast. But the chief praying ceremony takes place on the morning of that day at a place called *lā-mṣālla*, "the place of prayer." This place may be at the sanctuary of a saint or outside the village mosque; but the *mṣālla*

⁴Some of the Brāber, the Imārmūšēn, call this day *buislēhen*, "owner of skins," (*islēhen*, sing. *aslēh*).

of a town is either a whitewashed enclosure or, as is the case with the two *msállāt* outside Fez, simply contains a long straight wall with a prayer niche (*māḥrab*), turned towards Mecca, and a pulpit (*múnbar*), ascended by a flight of steps, in the centre (Plate VII.). In some country places the *msalla* is indicated by a cairn or a row of stones with a central cairn representing the *māḥrab*. It must be a place where the persons who pray are sheltered from any evil influence which might otherwise deprive their prayers of their efficacy. If on any occasion a man who is engaged in praying sees another person coming in front of him, he immediately for the same purpose places a couple of stones or some other object between himself and the passer-by. I noticed this once when my little caravan passed a scribe who was praying on the roadside; but it also holds true of persons who are praying indoors, a glass or a bottle, or anything near at hand, being in such a case used as a shelter.

At Fez, on the first morning of the feast, the people who are assembled at the *msalla* sing:—*Lā ilāha illa llāhu, allāhu akbar. hūwa subḥān allāhi u l-hamdu lillāhi. wā lā ḥdula wā lā ḥuwāt'a illā billāh*, ("There is no god but God, God is most great. Praise be to God and thanks be to God. There is neither power nor strength but with God"). When the Sultan arrives, the singing comes to an end, and the *ḥeṭ* who is going to conduct the service enters the *māḥrab* and says there two *rek'āt*, or forms of prayer, in the usual manner, with his face turned towards the East and his back towards the people. Everybody present follows his example. He then turns round, addressing the congregation with the phrase *S-salāmu 'alikum!* ("Peace be with you!"), which is repeated by the latter; it is believed that if anybody should say this before the *ḥeṭ*, his prayer would be of no avail. The *ḥeṭ* ascends the *múnbar* and reads the *ḥotba*, with the book in his right hand and a staff in his left. In country places the ceremonies differ in certain details. For example, among the Ait Sāddēn the men

walk to the *mşalla* in procession, headed by a man carrying a flag which has been brought from Mecca by some returned pilgrim and is only used on this occasion. While they proceed, the first half of the troop chant,—*Allāhu akbar, allāhu akbar, allāhu akbar, wa lillāhi l-hamd* ("God is most great, God is most great, God is most great, and thanks be to God!"). The latter half continue,—*Subhān allāhi u l-hamdu lillāhi, wa lā ilāha illa llāhu* ("Praise be to God and thanks be to God, and there is no god but God"). This chant is then repeated antiphonally till they arrive at the *mşalla*. After the two *rek'āt* have been said by the *şekh* and the congregation, and the *şekh* has read the *hōtba*, he seats himself on a mat and calls down blessings on the Sultan, the people, and the feast. At the conclusion of every prayer the congregation, likewise sitting, express their assent by an *amēn*. The *şekh* wipes down his face with his palms, saying,—*L-hamdu lillāhi rābbi l-ālamīn!* ("Thanks be to God, the Lord of the worlds!"). The people get up, kiss the head of the *şekh*, who still remains sitting, and wish him a blessed feast with the usual phrase, *Nbār^h l'tānnēš*. They then do the same to one another and go away all together, chanting as before. But they must not go back the same way as they came; this is a rule strictly followed not only by the Ait Sāddēn but in Fez and other places as well, and is reported by Muhammedan writers to have been observed by the Prophet himself.⁶ It is said that there is merit in every step to the *mşalla* (*kul hāfa b-hasāna*), and that this merit would be cancelled by the homeward steps along the same route; but I have also heard another and, as it seems, more acceptable explanation of the custom in question, namely,

⁶ The letter *h* represents a sound which is very similar to the German *ch* in *ich*.

⁶ El-Buhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, French translation by Houdas and Marçais, 1903, vol. i, p. 323:—"Quand c'était un jour de fête, le Prophète prenait un chemin différent (au retour)."

that the people want to avoid the *bās*, or evil, which may defile the road on which they walked before they had said their prayers. The ceremony at the *mṣālla* is immediately followed by the killing of the sacrificial animal, and that it is, partly at least, looked upon as a preparation for the sacrifice is suggested by the great emphasis which Muhammedan writers lay on the necessity of performing the sacrifice after, and not before, the prayer, in order that it shall be efficacious.⁷

Before passing to the rules referring to the sacrificial victim, we have still to notice some practices which in all probability have originated in an intention of the people to purify themselves for the feast or to keep away evil influences. Among the Brāber of the Ait Ngër and Ait Yūsi it is the custom for the men of one village to go, some on horseback and others on foot, to a neighbouring village to pretend to steal some of its animals. Then a sham fight ensues between the men of the two villages, with much discharge of powder at such close quarters that they not infrequently burn each others' clothes, the smoke of powder generally being supposed to drive away evil spirits. The whole affair ends with meals partaken of by both parties in common, first in one village and then in the other. All this is done very early in the morning of the first day of the feast. Again, among the Ulád Bu-‘Āziz, when the horsemen who have come to the *mṣālla* from other villages return to their homes, they have a race in which those belonging to the same village second each other in trying to catch hold of the unfolded turban swung by the man who takes the lead.

The sacrificial animal, which is called *dhāyya*⁸ by the Arabs and *taṭṭska* or *taffāska* by the Šluḥ of the Great Atlas, is mostly a sheep, but people who have no sheep

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 312, 313, 315-317, 319, 323.

⁸ From *dhā* (*ḏuhā*), the hour when religious people say their forenoon prayers.

or who cannot afford to buy one sacrifice a goat; sometimes a bullock or a small camel is slaughtered on this occasion, but in such a case it is generally held necessary to sacrifice a sheep as well. It is said that the most meritorious sacrifice is a ram, and that the merit in sacrificing other animals decreases according as the victim is a ewe, a he-goat, a she-goat, a bullock, a cow, a he-camel, or a she-camel. The sacrificial animal must be free from any defect. If it is a sheep, it should not be what is called at Fez a *háuli garítt* or *háuli bt'ar*, that is, a sheep whose tail is short like that of a goat; and it is desirable that it should have not only a well-developed tail, but long ears and horns as well. The best of all sacrifices is that of a ram with black rings round its eyes,⁹ presumably because it looks as if it had been painted with antimony; but a ram with a white face¹⁰ is also a very suitable victim. If the animal succeeds in tearing itself away when about to be tied up, it is no longer considered fit for sacrifice, but another animal must take its place.

Like the people, the sacrificial animal is commonly subject to certain forms of purification or sanctification. Among the Šluḥ of Aglu and the Brâber of the Ait Waráin it is, on the eve of the feast, daubed with *henna* between its eyes, and among the latter the sheep of the *fekt* has designs painted with *henna* both on its body and its head. On the other hand, I heard an old Berber from a neighbouring tribe, the Ait Yúsi, disapprove of the custom, not prevalent among his own people, of smearing this holy colouring matter on a head which is going to have its hair singed off the following day. The Šluḥ of Demnat and Gláwi (Iglíwa) paint the mouth or teeth of

⁹ Such a ram is called in Arabic *l-háuli s-súrdi* (Fez) or *l-háuli s-srondi* (Hiána); in Šéilha, the language of the Šluḥ, *buzála* (Iglíwa) or *bizála* (Aglu); in the language of the Brâber *aḥáuli aḥámmi* (Ait Sáddén), *aḥduli aḥágni* (Ait Yúsi), or *aḥdrfi abárki* (Ait Waráin).

¹⁰ Called *aḥduli dǧfwi* by the Ait Sáddén, *aḥduli abárki* by the Ait Yúsi.

the sheep with *swak*, and its eyes or, at Demnat, its right eye, with *khol*. In various parts of Morocco it is considered proper that the sacrificial animal should fast on the day of 'Arafa, or at least on the following morning, till some food is put into its mouth immediately before it is killed. The food most commonly given to it on this occasion, whether it has been fasting or not, is corn or flour and salt, which, as has been said before, is in some cases taken from the alms bestowed on the children on the previous day. At the same time some water may be poured into its mouth. Among the Ulád Bu-'Āzîz the sacrificer, when he performs this ceremony, says,—*'Allēfnāk u šarrābnāk fē d-dūnya, ita 'allēfna u šarrābna fī l-āhira!* ("We gave you food and drink in this world, may you give us food and drink in the next!"). The Šluḥ of Aglu give to the animal a mixture of barley, salt, and *henna*, saying,—*Yā rābbi ṣṣāḥḥa u lhēna!* ("O God, health and quietness!"), and this is done three times consecutively. The Aṭ Ubāḥṭi, a Berber tribe living near the Algerian frontier, put into the animal's mouth barley, salt, and a piece of charcoal, and the Aṭ Wāryāḡāl some yeast only. The main object of the corn, flour, yeast, and *henna* is no doubt to purify or sanctify the victim, and that of the salt and charcoal to drive away evil spirits. But it appears from the words which are said on this occasion that the food given to the animal is also supposed directly to benefit the people; and an old man from the Hīdīna told me that it takes away the *bās*, or evil, from the house. In the Ġarbiya, where I was once a witness of the sacrifice, a mixture of flour, salt, and water was not only pushed into the mouth of the sheep, but the remainder of the mixture was poured over and rubbed into its body. In Andjra, while the *fēl* is performing the sacrifice, a scribe carries a pot with burning white benzoin (*jāwi mekkāwi*) three times round the place where he is standing with the sheep; and, as soon as the *fēl* has cut the throat of the animal, he puts some salt into the gaping wound,

and also throws some on the blood which has fallen on the ground. Among the Aṭ Ubáḥṭi some salt and a piece of charcoal are thrown on the spot where the animal is going to be slaughtered, as a protection against evil spirits; among the Ulád Bu-ʿĀziz that place is merely swept clean previous to the sacrifice. Among the same tribe there is a consecration of the victim after its death; it is hung up in the tent by a rope made of palmetto leaves which were brought from the *mṣálla* in the morning.

It is considered obligatory on each head of a household to sacrifice one animal, but there are persons who sacrifice more, even as many as three or four, this being supposed to increase their merit. Among the Ait Yúsi a man who has many sheep sacrifices not only one for himself but another one for his wife, and, if he has several wives, he sacrifices one sheep on behalf of each of them. Among their neighbours, the Ait Waráin and Ait Sáddén, it is considered quite a duty for such a man to slaughter a sheep or a goat for each wife, but a husband who has only one wife does not sacrifice more than one animal.

The first sacrifice is generally performed by the *fḵt*, either at the *mṣálla* or inside the village; in the latter instance it sometimes takes place close to the mosque. Immediately after the sacrifice a gun is fired as a signal for the other men to follow the *fḵt*'s example, but possibly also with a view to driving away evil spirits. It is meritorious for a man to perform his own sacrifice. In Dukkála I heard a saying that he who does not wash his own clothes, who does not write his own letters, or who does not slaughter his own animals, is an object of mourning already before his death. But, if a man does not know how to butcher an animal, the sacrifice is performed on his behalf by the *fḵt* or by some other suitable man. Among the Ait Yúsi the *fḵt* kills all the sacrificial animals in his village, and appoints one man from each neighbouring village which has no *fḵt* to do the same,—some man who is in the habit

of praying and is known for his honesty and has never committed murder. It is a common, although not universal, rule that a homicide must not sacrifice with his own hands,¹¹ and in some tribes, mostly of Berber extraction,¹² there is a similar prohibition with reference to a person who has killed a dog, such persons being looked upon as unclean.

There is also a consecration of the knives with which the animals are going to be killed. Among the Arabs of the Ulád Bu-‘Āzīz each head of a household takes his knife with him to the *mṣállā* on the morning of the feast, and there all the knives are put together on the ground before the service commences. Should anybody arrive after the *hóṭba* has been read, he must rub his knife against a stone in the wall of the sanctuary at which the people are assembled, this being considered to have the same effect as if it had been read over. In the Híáina, again, a person who is late rubs his knife against one of the knives which have been placed in front of the *fḵl*. Among the Ait Sádđen all the knives are thrust into the cairn which marks the *mṣállā*; among the Ait Ngêr they are dipped into the blood of the sheep which has been killed by the *fḵl*, or into the blood of any other sheep which has been killed with a knife thus consecrated; and among the Ait Yúsi every man who is chosen by the *fḵl* to slaughter the sacrificial animals of his village must do so with a knife which has been dipped into the blood of the sheep sacrificed by the *fḵl* at the *mṣállā*.

In towns the *fḵl* who reads the *hóṭba* (*l-ḥtēb*), and who may be the *kādī*, or judge, of the town, kills the first sheep at the *mṣállā*, and, if the Sultan resides in the town, he also,

¹¹ I have found this rule prevalent among the Arabs of the Ulád Bu-‘Ātz, Bēni Āḥsen, and Híáina, among the Šluḥ of Aglu, Gláwi, and Demnat, and among the Brāber of the Ait Ngêr and Ait Yúsi, but not among the Brāber of the Ait Sádđen and Ait Waráin, the Rifians of the Ait Wāryāgāl, and the Jbāla of Andjra.

¹² The Šluḥ of Aglu and Gláwi, the Brāber of the Ait Yúsi and Ait Ngêr, and the Arabs of the Híáina.

with his own hands, performs his sacrifice at that place, immediately after the *ḥtēb*. In country places it is not the general rule that the first victim is sacrificed at the *ṃṣalla*; it may be slaughtered by the *f̣ḳt* outside the mosque of the village, or, like the other animals, in or outside the owner's house or tent. The head of the animal which is going to be sacrificed is turned towards the East, and, when its throat is cut, the following phrase is muttered by the sacrificer,—*Bismillāh, allāhu ākbar*; '*āla dḥayyēt flān ben flāna*' ("In the name of God, God is most great; for the sacrifice of so-and-so, son of so-and-so"), the latter name being that of the owner's mother, not of his father. But among the Brāber of the Ait Sāddēn the curious custom prevails of mentioning the name of the owner's wife instead of his own, as well as her mother's name,—*Bismillā, llāhu kbar*; '*āla dḥait flāna bent flāna*'; and the animal thus slaughtered is looked upon as *her* property. Although the sacrifice is as a general rule performed on the first day of the feast, it may be postponed till the second or third day, if a suitable animal cannot be procured for the first.

As soon as the animal is killed, its head and feet are cut off. The women seize hold of them in great haste, and singe off the hair as quickly as possible. The Ulād Bu-'Āzīz maintain that, if they do not do this rapidly, their own hair will not grow; but the original reason for the practice in question seems to be the belief prevalent among some Berber tribes (Ait Wāryāgāl, Ait Ng̣ēr) that the smoke of the hair drives away evil spirits or protects from other evil influences.

The part of the sacrificed animal which is to be eaten first is generally the liver, although there are a few instances in which the liver is only partaken of on the second day of the feast; this at all events is the case among the Ait Sāddēn and some of the Ait Ng̣ēr. It is either roasted or boiled with salt, and in many cases

it is eaten alone without bread. The other parts of the animal are eaten in a fixed order, which, however, varies in different tribes or even in different families. Very commonly the heart, lungs, and entrails are partaken of on the first day and the head and feet on the second. The flesh is almost universally abstained from on the first day, and in some places, and particularly in some families, even on the second day; among the Ait Imlul, a fraction of the Ait Sâddën, for instance, there are some villages where the flesh of the sacrificed animal is not cut up till the third day of the feast. It is believed that a transgression of the rule relating to the eating of the flesh would be followed by the death of the transgressor. The Ait Sâddën say that if, on the first day, even the slightest cut was made in the flesh, liver, heart, lungs, or entrails, some evil would befall the members of the household. There are certain other restrictions to be mentioned in this connection. In the Ġarbîya there is a village whose inhabitants altogether abstain from eating the head of the sacrificed animal; they say they do so for the reason that their forefathers once at the time of the Great Feast, when they were attacked by the Portuguese so suddenly that they had no time to fetch their guns, repulsed the enemy by the aid of their knives and the horns of the sheep which had been slaughtered just before. Among the Ait Wäryâgäl children are not allowed to eat the throat, and it is believed that, if two boys should eat together the same eye, they would quarrel. The Ait Ubâhṭi maintain that, if a man should eat the nose, he would be found out in case he committed theft. Among the Ait Ngër women are prohibited from eating the tongue; but this prohibition also refers to any other sheep or goat, and seems to be due to fear lest the eating of the tongue should make them too talkative. What remains of the meat is made into *kaddid*,¹³ that is, the

¹³ The Ulâd Bu-‘Âzz call such meat *l-gâddid*, the Brâber of the Ait Sâddën *tiḡâddidîn*, those of the Ait Yûsi *asâwar*, and the Šluḥ of Aglu *saḡârin*.

meat is salted and cured in the sun in strips, and out of this a portion is generally given to the poor. The Ulád Bu-'Ázíz consider that some of it should be left till the eve of the following *'aišör* (10th of Moḥarram), when it is roasted and eaten.¹⁴ It is indeed a very wide-spread custom in Morocco to leave something of the sacrificed animal to be eaten on that occasion. In Aglu this is done not only with strips of the meat but also with the tail and pieces of the lungs, kidneys, stomach, and gut; and at Demnat I was told that seven different parts of the animal are thus preserved and eaten on the 'Āšūra eve. In Fez the rump or the tail is then boiled and eaten with *sšsu*. In Andjra, again, the dried tail is on the 10th of Moḥarram given to the schoolboys, together with other food, to be eaten by them in the mosque; it is believed that, if the tail is thus presented to them, the house will be blessed with a multitude of provisions, whereas in the contrary case the schoolboys will complain and the niggardly family will suffer want. Among the Arabs of the Mnāšara a fire is made on the 'Āšūra eve in the sheep-pen, and the tail of the sheep which was sacrificed at the feast is roasted on the fire. The person who roasts it says,—*'Āj 'āj, ma t'āled ġnēma ġer n-nāj!* ("'*Āj 'āj*, may our ewes only give birth to females!"). When it is roasted, other persons present try to take it away from him; he who secures the tail eats it, and this is considered to bring good luck. Among the Bēni Āḥsen the shepherd on the 'Āšūra eve rides on the sire of the flock, holding in his hand the tail, which has been roasted in a fire made near the sheep. While doing this, he three times asks God to bless his master's flocks with ewes only, each time eating a bit of the tail and also giving to others who are on the spot a portion of it to eat. Among the Brâber of the Ait Ngêr, again, some meat of the sacrificed

¹⁴ If they have no such meat they then throw into the fire some dried blood of the sacrificed animal.

animal is preserved till the following 'anṣāra, that is, Mid-summer (Old Style). By eating the sacrificed animal the people expect to be benefited by its holiness, and by leaving some portion of it till the following Āšūra or Anṣāra they hope to transfer its benign virtue to this occasion. Among the Arabs of the Ḥiāina a portion is thus preserved only in case the animal is a ram without defects, since there is little *baraka* in any other sacrifice.

The holiness of the victim is also utilized in other ways. Magic propensities are ascribed to its blood. At Fez some of it, as it comes fresh from the wound, is smeared on the hands and feet of little children to prevent them from swelling in cold weather and the skin from chapping. A very common custom is for persons who have chapped skin on the feet, or who want to prevent the skin from being chapped, to dip them into the blood fallen on the ground; but the Ait Sāddēn, among whom the same method is also adopted by persons who are in the habit of kicking their toes against stones when walking, maintain that the feet must be dipped into the blood of seven different victims in order that any salutary effect shall follow. The Ait Ubāḥti smear a little of the blood on their stomachs to avoid indigestion, and the Ait Ngēr anoint their eyes with a drop of the blood first gushing out from the wound with a view to preventing them from getting ill. At Rabat I was told that, if the person who flays off the skin cuts his hand with the knife, he will have a long life. The Mnāšara put into the hole in the ground over which the animal is sacrificed not only some salt but also a silver bracelet, in the belief that, when the blood comes into contact with the silver, the wealth of the family will increase. The blood of the sacrificed animal is frequently used as a means of keeping off or expelling *jinūn*. Among the Ait Wāryāgāl it is drunk by persons who are troubled with such spirits; whilst, as a precaution against them, the corners of the walls of the room inhabited by the owner of the sacrificed animal are

sprinkled with its blood. The Šluḥ of Aglu and Gláwi sprinkle with sacrificial blood the lintel of the entrance door of their houses, but care must be taken that none of it falls on the threshold, lest anybody should walk over it. At Demnat the dried blood is used as medicine by persons who are supposed to have been struck by *juñn*; it is burned, and the smoke inhaled by the patient. The Ulád Bu-‘Áziz put some of the clotted blood mixed with yeast, salt, and tar in the place of the field where the corn is threshed (*l-gá’a*), to serve as a protection against *juñn*; and, when they build a new house, they for the same purpose place a similar mixture under the threshold. They also strew some of the dried blood on their pomegranate trees when the blossoms are coming out, so as to prevent them from getting dry. Among the Berbers of the Ait Yúsi the same substance is smeared on the backs of their sheep and goats to make them prosper, and also, mixed with *henna*, on the heads of persons who suffer from headache. The Arabs of the Híáina throw a small portion of the dried blood in a fire-pot when an easterly gale is blowing, in the hopes that the smoke will stop the wind.

The gall-bladder of the sacrificed animal is commonly hung in the roof of the tent or house, and is allowed to remain there till it falls down by itself; there is much *baraka* in it. In various Arab and Berber tribes mothers, for the purpose of weaning their babies, rub their breasts with this bladder so as to give them a bitter taste. Among the Ait Sáddēn women paint their eyes with some powder made from it, mixed with antimony; and, when an animal is ill, a little piece of it is burned so that the smoke enters its nostrils. The Ait Yúsi, again, give their churns the benefit of its smoke in the spring, when the milk is getting plentiful. Among the Ait Wäryâgäl the person who removes the gall-bladder from the slaughtered animal throws it into the sheep-pen after first spitting on it. Among the Ait Ubáḥti both the gall and the urinary bladder are suspended

from the front pole of the tent, and are left there for an indefinite time.

In the same tribe a piece of the stomach is hung up in the tent and, when dry, is burned as medicine for headache, the patient inhaling the smoke. The Ait Sâddën suspend a certain part of the gut from the roof of the house or tent in order to "make the churn fat." The Šluḥ of Aglu hang the so-called *amḡar wadan*, ("the chief of the gut," cæcum?), over the door of the house, and, if any member of the household gets a boil, a piece of it is put on the boil to promote suppuration. The Iglîwa throw parts of the intestines filled with excrements on cornfields that are infested with certain larvæ, called *tiḡāḡ*, in order to attract and destroy these vermin. In Andjra beardless men smear their faces with the contents of the gut so as to make the beard grow.

The right shoulder-blade is often preserved at least till the following Great Feast, being sometimes hung up in the tent or house, and sometimes buried among the corn which is kept there; but there are people who thus preserve it only in case it has been found to contain a good omen. The Šluḥ of Aglu paint it with *henna* and use it for the purpose of stirring the corn in the earthenware saucepan (*afellun*) in which they dry it over the fire before they begin the grinding. The Ait Yûsi bury it in the cornfield when thunder is heard in the spring, in order to prevent the crops from being burned. Among the same tribe it is the custom for a man who has a daughter, sister, or paternal aunt living in another house or tent to send her as a present one of the shoulders of the animal he has sacrificed.

Among the Ait Sâddën the larynx is preserved to be used as a charm against the evil eye, either fastened to a stick which is thrust into a stack of corn (*dšmin*) or hung up in the house; whilst in Andjra a piece of it is tied round the neck of a child suffering from cough.

The jaw-bones are in Andjra used as a rain charm; they are hung on a bamboo stick which is fastened to a tree or a house, and, when the wind makes them rattle, rain will fall. In the Hiána, if a person has an aching back-tooth, he puts on the cheek the corresponding half of the lower jaw-bone of the sacrificed animal; whilst its fore-teeth are burned and the smoke is inhaled by anybody who is troubled with giddiness.

The horns of the animal are in Andjra burned into powder which, mixed with water, is used as ink by the schoolboys in order to improve their writing. With the same mixture some scribe writes a few words from the Koran on a new plate, pours water over the writing, and puts some raisins in it. The water is then drunk by a schoolboy who cannot learn his lessons, and the raisins, enveloped in a new handkerchief, are placed by the scribe near the beehives. Next morning, before sunrise, he brings back the raisins, which are eaten by the boy on an empty stomach with a view to increasing his capacity for learning. In the same tribe a horn of a sacrificed sheep is hung in a pomegranate tree to prevent the blossoms from falling down. Among the Ait Wäryägäl slices cut from the horns are thrown into the fire when a snake is seen inside the house, the smoke being supposed to drive it away.

Among the Ait Yúsi some fat of the eyes of a sacrificed animal is at the Great Feast following the birth of a child given to the child to eat in order to protect it against evil spirits.

Among the same tribe the tail of the sacrificed sheep is cut off and preserved for occasions when there is a strong easterly gale, a bit of it being burned to stop the wind.

The skin of the animal should never be sold; yet there are persons who break this rule. It is sometimes given away in charity, sometimes used as a praying mat, but most frequently it is made into a sack for holding women's clothing or into a churn so as to increase the quantity of

butter. The Šluḥ of Aglu rub their faces with the skin immediately after it has been flayed off.

The same Berbers also kiss the sheep's mouth before it is killed. The Brâber of the Ait Waráin, again, tie round the horns of the sheep which is going to be slaughtered by the *fek* a silk kerchief or belt of some childless woman, who is thereby supposed to be cured of her barrenness.

Among the same tribe the barley and salt which remains in the mouth of the animal after it has been killed is removed and sewn up in a small rag or piece of leather to be hung on some child or animal as a charm against the evil eye. In various Berber tribes the barley which is found in the stomach of the sacrificed sheep is dried and afterwards sown in a special place of the field. The grain of the crop resulting from it is called "the barley of the Prophet"¹⁵ and regarded as holy. It is either sown separately or together with other seed, or, if there is much of it, partly used for food.

The holiness of the sacrificed animal is utilized not only with a view to deriving supernatural benefits from it, but also for the purpose of divination. It is believed throughout Morocco that, if the animal gets up after its throat has been cut, its owner will prosper and will have a long life; it is said of him that "his days" or "his luck remained standing" or "stood up."¹⁶ On the other hand, if the animal dies at once, the days of its owner are supposed to be numbered. In towns the sheep sacrificed at the *mšalla* is immediately and in great haste carried in a basket to the house of the *kādi*, or judge; if it arrives there alive, the judge, or according to some the Sultan, will have a long life, whereas it is a bad omen if it arrives there dead. When the Sultan takes part in the ceremony

¹⁵ *Témaín nēnbi* (Ait Waráin), *ḥmzin nēnbi* (Ait Ngēr, Aṭ Ubáḥti), or *imendi nēnbi* (Ait Wāryāḡāl).

¹⁶ *Ltyām wāḡfa* (Fez), *nlkērt liámēns* (Iglíwa), *ibā imāimāns* (Aglu), or *mimānēnnēf ibādd* (Ait Sāddēn).

at the *mšalla*, the two sheep sacrificed by him and the *hēbb* are carried on the backs of two galloping mules to their respective residences, every effort being made that the sheep shall not die on the way.

In certain Berber and Arab tribes,—the Ait Sâddēn, Ait Yûsi, Ait Ngēr, Mnâšara, Dukkâla, etc.,¹⁷—the people read their fortune in the sacrificial blood. Thus, among the Ulâd Bu-‘Âziz, when the cut has been made and the blood is gushing out, a plate, which has previously been carefully cleaned, is held underneath the wound, and when filled with blood is immediately covered so as to retain its prognostic qualities. The fortune-reading takes place shortly after, when the blood is getting clotted. If it divides itself in the centre of the plate, either the owner of the sheep or some member of his family living in his tent will die before long; if it divides itself at the side of the plate, some other relative of his will die; if there are more divisions than one, their number indicates the number of persons who will die. These divisions are called *lâ-kbâr*, (“the graves”). If there is in the blood a long crooked furrow, the owner of the sheep will travel; such a furrow is called *t-trêg*, (“the road”). Holes in the blood are named *l-mers*, which means a collection of subterranean granaries; they indicate that the owner of the sheep will have much corn, and the more holes in the blood the more corn he will have. If there is any straw in the blood, he will become the possessor of domestic animals, and the more straws there are the more animals he will have; the straw is called *x-siâda*, (“the abundance”). If there is any water in the blood, the inhabitants of the tent will have to weep; such water is termed *d-dmôô*, (“the tears”). Among the Ait Yûsi, on the other hand, the water is regarded as an indication of much rain.

The Brâber of the Ait Sâddēn, Ait Yûsi, and Ait Ngēr,

¹⁷ M. Doutté, (*Merrâkchâ*, 1905, p. 369), mentions the prevalence of this kind of divination among the Arabs of the Raḥâmna.

and the Arabs of the *Híáina*, believe that, if the gall-bladder is full, the owner of the animal will have full churns that year. The *Aṭ Ubáḥṭi* ascribe the same meaning to a full urinary bladder, whilst, according to them, a full gall-bladder indicates that there will be much corn because there will be much rain.

The *Šluḥ* of *Aglu* make prognostications from the intestines of the sacrificed sheep. If they are full of leavings, there will be plenty of rain and the year will be good; if there are leavings in their forepart alone, rain will only fall in the beginning of the ploughing season (October and November), and the crops will be bad; if there are leavings in the end of the gut tube, there will be much rain in the spring when the crops are earing, and they will consequently be satisfactory. The *Aiṭ Sáddēn* maintain that, if the forepart of the intestines is thick and full, the owner of the animal will have much milk,—“full churns,”—during that year.

Very commonly fortune is read in the right shoulder-blade of the sacrificed sheep;¹⁸ but, in order to be suitable for this purpose, the bone must be stripped of its meat not with the teeth but with the fingers, so as not to be scratched. When it is passed over to the fortune-teller, it must not be given into his hand, but must be laid down in front of him; and I am told by an old man from the *Híáina* that this must be done three times consecutively. The shoulder-blade is supposed to tell whether the year will be good or bad, whether there will be much rain or drought, whether the food will be cheap or dear, whether the Sultan will be strong or powerless, whether the Christians will trouble the country or leave it in peace, and whether the people will keep in good health or there will be many deaths. As to the manner in which this kind of divination is practised,

¹⁸ *E.g.*, at Fez and Tangier, among the Arabs of the *Híáina* and *Dukkála*, the Rifians of the *Aiṭ Wāryāgāl*, the Brāber of the *Aiṭ Waráín*, *Aiṭ Yúsi*, and *Aiṭ Ngēr*, and the *Šluḥ* of *Aglu*, *Demnat*, and other places in the Great Atlas.

none of the many Arab and Berber scribes whom I have asked about it has been able to tell anything beyond the general statement that it is done much in the same way as is the fortune-reading in the blood.¹⁹ But I presume that it must be much more complicated, as there are only special persons, called *kettāfa*, (sing. *kettāf*, from *ketef*, "shoulder"), who are versed in it. It should be added that fortune is also read in the right shoulder-blades of other sheep than such as are killed at the Great Feast; indeed, among the Ait Sâddën, this kind of divination is only practised on occasions when a single sheep is slaughtered and not at the feast, when the shoulder-blades of different animals might lead to contradictory prognostications. They say that the shoulder-blade of the sacrificial sheep only tells lies.

The process of the liver which is in Arabic called *rbib* (*processus caudatus*?) is another part of the sacrificed animal from which prognostications are made. In the Hîâina and among the Ait Ngêr it is supposed to tell the fortune of the owner of the animal; whilst, in the latter tribe, the fortune of the whole village is read in the rest of the liver.

In the Hîâina and among the Ait Warâin and Ait Sâddën the condition of the heart of the sacrificed animal is said to give an indication as to the heart of the person who slaughtered it. If it is dark and full of blood, the latter has a black heart; if it is light and bloodless, he is a good man. One of my informants assured me that none of the sheep which he had killed had had any blood at all in its heart.

The difference between divination and magic causation is not fundamental; an omen is, at least in many cases,

¹⁹ M. Douâté, who mentions the prevalence of this practice in the Rahâma (*op. cit.*, pp. 369 *et seq.*), describes it as follows:—"On désosse l'épaule droite et on en retire l'omoplate: si elle est lisse, l'année sera bonne; si, au contraire, il y a une ligne blanche, c'est le signe du 'kfen,' de mauvais augure."

originally looked upon as a cause of the event which it forebodes. Hence the fact that the sacrificed animal prophesies both prosperity and misfortune may be taken as an indication of its being a source not only of beneficial influences but of harmful influences as well. As already said, it is a general characteristic of holiness that it is a seat of good and evil at the same time. The rules relating to the eating of the sacrificed animal illustrate this idea, and so do various other facts connected with the Great Feast and its sacrifice. As the flesh, so also the skin is in the beginning a source of danger. Among the Ait Sáddën it is left for three days on the roof of the house or tent, and during this period it must not on any account be taken inside the dwelling. The bones of the head, particularly of the lower jaw, and sometimes those of the feet, are looked upon as dangerous. Among the Ulád Bu-‘Āziz they are buried underneath a stone or cairn outside the village, since, if left near a tent, they are supposed to cause the destruction of its pottery or even give sickness to its inhabitants. But both in this and in various other tribes,—such as the Arabs of the Híáina, and the Berbers of the Ait Ngêr, Ait Sáddën, Ait Waráin, and Ait Ubáḥti—it is also the custom to throw some of these bones, which are collectively called *buhärrus* (*bühärräs*, *bühärrus*), at or outside the tent or house of a person from another village or an enemy, with the phrase, *Ana läht ‘ālik buhärräs* (“I threw on you the *buhärräs*”), or “I threw on you the *bühärrus* before you threw it on me”.²⁰ If the person who does so is caught, he may have to undergo a severe flogging or even be shot dead; but in many cases he is merely put to ridicule by being smeared with dung, having sour milk poured into his beard, being tied to an animal, or being

²⁰ In Fez the phrase, *Ana rmiš ‘ālik buhärrus* (“I threw on you the *buhärrus*”), has lost its original meaning, and is used by a person who finishes his work before another with whom he has been working. It is known to mean something bad, but is said as a joke.

dressed up as a woman, the whole affair having the character of a joke rather than being an expression of ill-will. The belief that the *buhärrus* causes the destruction of pottery, which I have also found among all the Berber tribes who have the practice of throwing it, may be due either to the fact that the bones themselves have been broken or to the natural function of the jaws, which in most cases seem to be the only bones called by the name *buhärrus*. This word, which comes from the verb *hārräs* ("he broke"), may be translated as "the breaker"; and an old man expressly connected it with the breaking of the food by the jaw-bones.

In some instances the *buhärrus* is thrown in the evening of the first day of the feast or the following evening (At Ubāḥṭi, Ait Ngār), but in other cases the regular time for throwing it is the morning of the second day, which among the Ulād Bu-'Āziz is called *nhār buhārrūs* ("the day of the *buhārrūs*"), although a more common name for it is *bāmēslaḡ*. The motive for this practice, however, is not merely a malicious desire to break other people's crockery, but I am expressly told that it is also intended to rid one's own home of *l-bās*, or evil influences. It thus belongs to a group of ceremonies or customs by which those who celebrate the feast try to shake off or guard themselves against the injurious elements of its holiness. There is reason to believe that this is also the case with the following practices which are observed in the course of the seven days which the feast lasts.

We have first to notice the abstinence from labour. Throughout Morocco the first day of the feast is kept as a holiday both by men and women, and so is generally the second day also, which in some places is regarded as a particularly dangerous time. I am told that anybody who should work on that day would have some grave misfortune, —robbers would kill him at night, or some of his children or animals would die, or he would be struck with blindness;

and travelling on that day is likewise supposed to be accompanied with danger. But labour is also suspended on other days of the feast, especially by the women. Among the Ait Yúsi and Ait Sáddën they perform no other work than such as is implied in the preparation of food during the three days immediately preceding the feast and the following seven days.

Among the Ulád Bu-'Āziz many persons are in the habit of pouring water over each other in the morning of the day of the *buhārrús*, and it is believed that such ablutions are particularly beneficial to sick people. I presume that they are of a purificatory character, like the water ceremonies practised in various parts of Morocco at 'Anšāra (Midsummer, Old Style), or 'Āšūra.²¹ The same is in all probability the case with the tug of war which is frequently performed at the Great Feast. Among the Ait Ngër it takes place in the afternoon of the first day; among the Ait Waráin, who call it *ǧjbād nūsgun*, in the afternoon of the second day; among the Ulád Bu-'Āziz, who call it *jubbūtd hābél*, in the evenings of the fifth, sixth, and seventh days, that is, the three last days of the feast. But among the Ait Sáddën the tug of war (*jēbbūd hābél*) is practised in the morning of the first day, previous to the sacrifice, by the women and those men who are not taking part in the service at the *mšdlla*; and among the Ait Yúsi, who call it *mzāgmītra*, it is performed either before that service or in the afternoon of the same day, as also in the morning of the day of the Little Feast. Both sexes generally participate in the contest, the men pulling at one end of the rope and the women at the other, and sometimes the weaker party apply to persons of their own sex in a neighbouring village for assistance. When they are all tugging it happens that the men suddenly let the rope go, so as to upset the women. But in some places

²¹ See my article "Midsummer Customs in Morocco," *Folk-Lore*, vol. xvi, pp. 31-2, 41.

the tug of war seems to be chiefly a woman's game ; this, I was told, is the case at Jráfi, in the Ġarb. An old Arab from the Híáina informed me that among his people the *jubbéid hbel* is no longer practised at the Great Feast, as it was in his childhood, but that it is performed in the autumn when the threshing is going on and the fruits are ripe. Then men and women have a tug of war by moonlight so that the *bās*, or evil, shall go away, that the year shall be good, and that the people shall live in peace. Some man secretly cuts two of the three cords of which the rope is made, with the result that both parties tumble down. Among the Jbála of the Tsúl a similar match takes place, likewise by moonlight, at the same time of the year, but for the purpose of influencing the weather ; it is arranged when the sky gets overcast and the people want sunshine in order to dry their figs and grapes. Among the Brâber of the Ait Waráin and the Šluḥ of Gláwi, on the other hand, the tug of war is resorted to as a means of producing rain,—which shows that its essential function as a weather charm is to bring about a change in the weather.²² But at the Great Feast it is not practised for any such purpose.

Racing, powder play, and target shooting are common features of the Great Feast. Among the Ulád Bu-‘Ázíz, shortly after the sacrifice has been performed, horsemen from a neighbouring village arrive ; one of them dismounts, and goes to a tent to ask for the flayed-off skin of the sheep, which he then takes to his friends who are waiting outside the village on horseback. He gives it to the one who has the best horse, for there is soon going to be a race for it. A man accompanied by friends on horseback comes riding out from the village to pursue the person who has the skin, trying to hit him with a rod and catch him. If successful, he deprives him of his turban or cloak as well as the skin. Then a man belonging to the other party

²² Cf. Doutté, *Merrilbeck*, p. 387, where the tug of war is said to be practised by the Arabs of the Raḥamna as a method of producing rain.

again endeavours to get hold of the latter; and thus the race goes on till some time before sunset. I have found no superstitious beliefs at present connected with this practice, but it certainly suggests a purificatory origin. This is also the case with the target shooting, which is practised in the afternoons of the first, second, and sometimes third day of the feast. It is of universal prevalence on this occasion, as also at other feasts. Every rifleman is compelled to take part in it, at the risk of having to pay a fine; indeed it is the custom even for men who have no rifles of their own to fire a few shots with those belonging to others. I was expressly told that this practice has the effect of driving away evil influences. In the *Híáina* it is considered particularly good to practise target shooting on the *sába' l'id*, or seventh day of the Great Feast, Little Feast, and *Múlud*, and also on Fridays between the midday prayer and sunset.

A very interesting feature of the Great Feast is the masquerade which is connected with it almost everywhere in Morocco. A man is dressed up in the skins of some sacrificed goats or sheep, and another man or boy is disguised as a woman. Sometimes they are regarded as husband and wife, and sometimes the woman is regarded as the wife of a third person, an old man. Other individuals are dressed up as Jews and Jewesses, or Christians, or animals. Accompanied by musicians and other persons, the party walk about from house to house or from tent to tent, dancing and acting. These are the most general characteristics of the play, but there are many variations in details. The following accounts of it are based either on my own personal experience or on information which I have received from native friends with reference to their respective tribes or places.

In April, 1900, during my stay in a village of the *Sáhel*, a mountain tribe in Northern Morocco, I was two nights consecutively present at a performance of this kind, which

was witnessed by some two hundred people. There was a man dressed up in goatskins, called Bújlūd (*bu jlūd*, "one who is dressed up in skins"), and an "old man" called Šéhšioḥ (*šeh š-sioḥ*, "the oldest of the old"), who were fighting between themselves for the possession of a "young woman," called Yissúma. There was, moreover, a "Jew," who amused the audience by his twaddle, and on the second occasion there were two "Jews" and two "women." With a stick in his hand, Bújlūd kept the spectators in order, preventing them from moving about. He also imitated a pig, and Šéhšioḥ made him plough. The performances included much music, singing, and dancing, and were said to take place seven consecutive nights, beginning on the evening of the first day of the feast. When passing another village in the same district, I met a procession consisting chiefly of children and headed by a man dressed up in goatskins and a "young woman," dancing as they went along. Bújlūd's legs were bare and painted white, and so was his face, and on his head he wore a straw hat with a long tail. His dance was distinctly indecent. The children were teasing him, and he beat them in return.

In the village of l-Hmis, the chief centre of the Sáhel, I witnessed a great performance, in which there were three men, dressed up in goatskins, dancing to the queer music of a rural band of musicians in the presence of hundreds of spectators. A whole farce was connected with this performance. There was an old man, Šéhšioḥ, and his wife Halíma, and the plot of the play consisted of the old man's suspicions as to her fidelity and the accusation of her to a person acting as *kādi*, or judge. The following dialogue gives an idea of the coarseness of the play. Halíma says to Šéhšioḥ,— "I feel ill and am going away." —Šéhšioḥ. "You are not allowed to go; I have not slept with you for three months."—H. "I am not your wife. You give me no food."—Š. "I am going to fetch wheat for

you."—H. "I am not well dressed."—Š. "We shall go to the judge. He will tell you if you are well dressed or not."—H. "Where is the wheat?"—Š. "I have it in my posteriors."—H. "I am not good enough for you."—Š. "Oh yes, you are still good; I am not going to give you up."—H. "Go and beg in an Arab tribe!"—Š. "I am not a beggar."—H. "May God curse you and make you destitute! I am with child."—Š. "You must swear that the child is mine." Šéhšioḥ takes Ḥalîma to the judge, and goes then to a group of women, who treat him somewhat badly. He returns with one of them, with whose aid he wants to make himself sure as regards Ḥalîma's condition. She now gives birth to a child, which she carries away and hands over to one of the spectators. Šéhšioḥ (to the judge),—"It is not my son. (To Ḥalîma) Come and let us sleep together! It is not my son, not my son!" H. "Go away!" A fight follows, Ḥalîma beats Šéhšioḥ, and runs away. Š. (to the judge, in a rage),—"I wish to kill her!"

I was told in the same village that a man dressed up as a camel formerly took part in the performance.

In the village Dâr Féllak, in the mountain tribe Jbel lâ-Ḥbîb, where I was staying for some time, the party consists of Bújlūd, Šéhšioḥ, his wife (who is here called 'Aîša Ḥamêka, that is, "Foolish 'Aîša"), a "mule," and a "Jew" who pretends to sell goods and is made fun of. Bújlūd is pushed by the people, and beats them with an olive stick which he holds in his hand. Among the Jbâla of Andjra the company is made up of Bújlūd, Šéhšioḥ, his wife Yissûma, a "Jew" with his wife 'Azzûna and his "mule," and also a "judge." Bújlūd is dressed in the skins of animals which have been sacrificed at the feast, but otherwise imitates a Christian, and is also called by that name (*nâsrâni*). He runs after the people and beats them, whilst Šéhšioḥ throws ashes into their eyes from his bag. Bújlūd is commonly represented by some poor man, who is

either hired for a fixed sum or receives a third part of the eatables and money collected by the company while they go begging from house to house and from village to village, the remainder being divided among the other members of the party, including the musicians. But it also happens that the part of *Bújlūd* is played by a man who suffers from skin disease or boils, which are supposed to be cured by the contact with the skins of sacrificed animals. The play begins in the afternoon of the second day of the feast, and is repeated on the following days, as long as the feast lasts, unless the people are busy, in which case it comes to an end sooner. The scribes look upon it as "forbidden" (*ḥrām*), and there are many persons who refuse shaking hands with the man who played the part of *Bújlūd*.

From the Arabic-speaking mountaineers of Northern Morocco we pass to the Arabs of the plains. Among all their tribes with whose customs I am acquainted there is likewise a masquerade connected with the celebration of the Great Feast. Among the *Ulád Bu-ʿĀzíz* it commences in the evening of the first day, after supper. A man, with the assistance of some friends, dresses himself up in six bloody skins of sacrificed sheep, of which he fastens one to each arm and leg, one to the forepart of his body, and one to his back. On his head he puts something black, such as a piece of an old tent cloth, and on either side of his head he ties a slipper to represent ears. He is called *s-Sbāʾ bēl-Būṭáin* ("the Lion with Sheepskins"). He is generally a person who suffers from some illness, since he is supposed to be cured by the holiness of the bloody skins. Two other men disguise themselves as women, covering up their faces with the exception of their eyes; they are called by the name *Kʿaiwina*, and are regarded as the wives of the *Sbāʾ*. From the place where they dressed themselves they go with their friends into the village, and are there joined by the unmarried men carrying their guns. They all now make a tour from tent to tent in their own and neighbour-

ing villages. The Sbâ' beats with the skins on his arms everybody who comes within his reach; there is *baraka*, holiness, in this beating, and hence sick people are anxious to approach him. He likewise beats the tents so as to give them also the benefit of his *baraka*. His two wives dance and cry out *krâ' krâ'*, in order to induce the inhabitants of the tents to give them a foot (*krâ'*) of their sheep; and they get what they want, there being merit in such a gift. The Sbâ' also dances, imitating the roaring of a real lion, and behaves most indecently before the public, pretending to have sexual intercourse with his wives; while the accompanying bachelors from time to time discharge volleys of gunpowder. After they have visited some three or four villages, the party return before the morning. On the second day after supper one of the bachelors is dressed up as a Jew, having his face covered with a crude mask to which is attached a long beard of wool, and his head with a blue kerchief (*kâssa*) in the Jewish fashion, and carrying in his hand a stick. Two other bachelors make a camel, called *n-nwîga* (diminutive of *nâga*, "she-camel"), by throwing over their heads a palmetto mat and carrying on the end of a stick the skull of some animal. The Jew leads the camel by a rope tied round its neck, and thus they walk, like the party on the evening before, from tent to tent in their own and neighbouring villages, accompanied by unmarried men and boys, the Jew asking for fodder for his camel and the people giving him eggs. He is addressed as *šəp l-gəddid* ("the chief of the strips of dried meat"). In the following evening a young man is again dressed up as a Jew and two boys as a mule, called *l-bġāila* ("the little female mule"), and the same tour is made. In the evening of the fourth day the Jew is in a similar manner accompanied by a "leopard" (*n-nmer*); and in the evenings of the three following days the people have tugs of war, as already mentioned. Another custom may still be noticed in this

connection. On the third day of the feast a man dresses himself up as a woman, and, accompanied by horsemen and a few musicians, makes a tour from village to village, himself dancing, the musicians playing, the horsemen firing their guns, and the people giving them food and money, which is spent in buying fodder for their horses. They pass the night away and then proceed to another village, accompanied by horsemen from the place where they stayed. Thus they go about day after day, until on the seventh day they retire to a saint's tomb, where they amuse themselves till the early morning and then return to their homes.

Among the Bēni Āḥsen the man who is dressed up in the skins of sacrificed sheep is called by the same name as among the Ulād Bu-'Āzīz. He carries in his hands two sticks with which he beats the tents, and also the people who are pushing him. His "wife" is called Yissūma or Sūna, and two other men are dressed up as a Jew and a pig. They all receive money, chickens, eggs, and other small presents from the people.

Among the Mnāšara a man is on the second day of the feast dressed up in the bloody skins of sacrificed sheep. He is called s-Sbā' Bulḫāin (*bu l-ḫāin*) ("the lion dressed in the sheepskins"), or simply Bulḫāin ("the one who is dressed in sheepskins"), and is accompanied by his wife Sūna, a "Jew," a "leopard," and a "camel." They go about in their own village for three days, but may also visit other villages till the week of the feast comes to an end. The Sbā' beats people and tents with the skin on his arm. A sick person is supposed to recover if thus treated by him, and anybody whom he beats on the head will be free from headache; for in him is the *ḥaraka* of the feast. The same beliefs prevail among the Arabs of the Šawīa.

At Jraīf, in the Ġarb, the chief figure of the masquerade is dressed in goatskins and is called Bājlūd. His "wife" is here also named Sūna, whilst Šāḥšoḥ is the name of an

old "Jew." The people tease Bâjlūd by saying to him,—*Ā Bâjlūd l-'aryan, bâlu 'alik j-jdyān* ("O Bâjlūd the naked, the male goats made water on you"). He then beats them with his stick, and the person thus beaten is supposed to be benefited by it owing to the *baraka* possessed by Bâjlūd.

Among the Arabs of the Hīāina a man, in the evening of the second day of the feast, has his face covered with a mask made of the skin of a sacrificed sheep with the wool turned outwards; a long beard is attached to it, and two locks are hung over the temples. He is called Bâššeh, and is considered to be an old Jew, whilst his wife Sūna is a Jewess. There is besides a third person representing the *rôbb*, or servant, of the Jew. Sūna dances, Bâššeh pretends to have intercourse with her on the ground, and the *rôbb* washes him clean with earth. They are surrounded by a ring of musicians playing the tambourine and others who simply mark time with the motions of their feet and bodies and the clapping of their hands. This performance is repeated in all the villages visited by the party, till the seventh day of the feast inclusive; and wherever they go Bâššeh is presented with money, eggs, and dried meat.

The masquerade at the Great Feast is found not only among the Arabic-speaking tribes of Morocco, but among the various Berber groups as well. Among the Brâber of the Ait Warāin it takes place in the evenings of the three first days of the feast. A man has the whole of his body covered with the skins of sacrificed sheep, and puts over his face a mask of the same material; he is called Buiheḍar, which means "one who is dressed in skins." His wife Tudeit, "Jewess," is nicely dressed in a woman's costume, and the two "Jews" (*udein*) who go with them have long beards and teeth of pumpkin seeds. They are accompanied on their tour by people playing the tambourine (*ḍllun*). Buiheḍar carries a stick in either hand, and beats everybody who comes near him; this is said to be a

cure for Buihedar himself if he is unwell, whereas the person beaten is not supposed to derive any benefit from it. Buihedar, who is most indecent in his appearance, pretends to have intercourse with Tudeit. The latter dances, and the people stick coins on her forehead. The Jews do not sell any goods, but collect money for Buihedar.

The neighbouring tribe of the Ait Sáddën likewise has a masquerade during the evenings of the three first days of the feast. A man is made to represent a ram or a he-goat by being dressed in the skins of sacrificed sheep or goats, and holding in either hand a short stick, which gives him the appearance of walking on four legs. In many cases another man is in a similar way dressed up as a ewe or a she-goat, and sometimes a camel or a donkey is made up by four men. These animals are collectively named Bújlud. There are, besides, one or several "Jews" (*udein*) and "Jewesses," each of whom is called 'Azzûna,—the name by which every Jewish wife is called by the Brâber and by the Jews themselves in case her real name is not known to them,—and a small crowd of men and youths carrying tambourines (*allânen*). The whole party, called by a common name *sâna*, make a tour from house to house and from village to village, entertaining themselves and others with music, singing, and dancing, in which, however, the animals do not join. The Jews have in their hands papers from which they read out fictitious claims to get a little money from the people, while the sheep or the goats amuse the public with the grossest obscenities. At present, however, there is not so much ambulation as there used to be. The people refuse to admit to their village any party as to whose intentions there can be any doubt; for it happened a few years ago that a *sâna* who went from the Ait Sáddën to the Ait Sağrúššën consisted of disguised enemies coming to exact blood-revenge, and it is feared that the same thing may occur again.

Among the Ait Yúsi the masquerade commences in the

evening of the first day of the feast, and is continued in the two or three following evenings, as the case may be. The party, here also collectively called *sâna*, consists of Bújlud, who is dressed up in goatskins, his wife 'Azzûna, who in spite of her Jewish name is dressed like a Berber woman, several old "Jews," a "camel," a "mule," and sometimes a "lion." Bújlud carries a basket filled with ashes, which he throws on the people. His behaviour is very indecent. No holiness is said to be attached to him.

Among the Ait Ngër the masquerade takes place in the evening of the second day of the feast, and the two following nights. The party is made up of Bújlud, his wife Sûna, and two "Jews," besides a number of followers, who go with them singing and playing the tambourine. Bújlud is dressed in the black skins of goats which have been sacrificed at the feast, his face is covered with a mask made of a goat's stomach, on his head he has a piece of dark cloth, on both sides of it he has slippers representing ears, and at the abdomen he wears an artificial penis. He beats with the skin on his arm tents and people, including the two Jews, who are thus chased away by him, and he pretends to have intercourse with Sûna, as also with any she-ass he happens to meet. He and Sûna dance, but they carefully refrain from speaking, so as to escape identification. The two Jews have at their temples tufts made of goat-tails, and on their faces are fastened long beards of white wool. In their hands they carry a long stick and a basket, supposed to contain goods which they sell to the people, receiving in return a little money, meat, and eggs; and similar gifts are presented to Bújlud's followers. They all keep together when they walk from one village to another, but when they arrive there they divide themselves into two groups, the Jews going ahead and Bújlud and Sûna following with the musicians.

Among the Ait Ubáhti the play commences in the evening of the second day of the feast, and is continued till the

seventh day inclusive. There is a man, Bújlud, dressed in the black skins of goats sacrificed on the day before, his wife Sûna, an "old Jew," and two "younger Jews." They all dance, and the Jews and other people accompanying Bújlud and Sûna sing,—*Ā Hâima mâ lëk mâ lëk? ā Hâima mâ lëk mâ lëk? ā Hâima rāddi bâlëk! ā Hâima bent Umbârëk, Bújlud mâ had 'aláš. Sûna bgât l-geddîd, Bújlud mâ zal sgër, Sûna bgât l-geddîd* ("O, Hâima ("amorous one"), what is the matter with you, what is the matter with you? O Hâima, what is the matter with you, what is the matter with you? O Hâima, look out! O Hâima, daughter of Ambârëk ("the blessed one"), Bújlud is good for nothing. Sûna wants strips of dried meat (an indecent allusion), Bújlud is still young, Sûna wants strips of dried meat."). As in many other tribes, Bújlud has a phallic appearance, and pretends to have intercourse with Sûna. The people make him presents of raw meat of the sacrificed animals, there being merit in such a gift. He has *baraka* in him.

I have also information of the prevalence of a masquerade at the Great Feast among the Berbers of the Rif, although in some parts of the country constant blood feuds are an obstacle to it. There is Bujlud dressed in the skins of sacrificed goats, a "wild-boar," a "lion," a "hunter," and a "Jew" selling his goods. Bujlud runs after the people who tease him, and beats them; and he is privileged to enter the houses and to take from them whatever he wants.²³

Among the Berbers (Šluḥ) of the Great Atlas range and the province of Sûs, in Southern Morocco, similar customs are found. The Iglîwa call the man who is dressed up in

²³ According to M. Moulières there are in the masquerade of the Rif a judge, an old man called Baših, his wife, his donkey, and a Jew; and such a masquerade takes place not only at the Great Feast, but at the Little Feast and 'Āsûra as well, (*Le Maroc inconnu, Première partie, Exploration du Rif*, 1895, pp. 106 et seq.).

the skins of sacrificed animals Builmaun, from the Šélha word *ilmaun* (sing. *ilem*) meaning "skins." He is accompanied by his wife Trázza and one or several "Jews," and beats the people either with a stick or with the foot of a sacrificed sheep or goat. This masquerade commences on the second day of the feast. In Aglu, in Sûs, the only dressed-up person is Bújlud, as he is here called. He is likewise covered with the skins of sacrificed animals, and has the horns of a sacrificed goat on his head. On the second, third, and fourth days of the feast he goes about from house to house, accompanied by musicians, receiving various kinds of provisions, and beating the people with the foot of a sheep hanging from his arm. He represents the holiness of the feast, and transfers its benign virtue to those whom he beats; sick persons in particular are supposed to profit by this, and mothers take to him their little children to be cured of their ailments by being touched and frightened by him. When he visits a house, the owner of it addresses him with words like these,—*Adaǧtfe rábbi ššaht dlēhēna mas akdaǧtmúkkir imāl yimāl, a Bújlud, sēlhēna dššaht, a sidi rábbi* ("May God give us health and quietness so that we shall meet you again next year and the year after, O Bújlud, with quietness and health, O my Lord God!"). To this the people accompanying him reply,—*Afillaunig rábbi l'áidat dunbárki, iǧaǧ fillaun din-bárkin* ("May God make this feast blessed for you, may he make us blessed for you!"). From other parts of Sûs I am told that, on the second day of the feast, a man is likewise dressed up in skins with horns of a goat. He goes round visiting the houses, takes from them chickens or eggs or any other things he wants, dances, and beats the people. Mothers come to him with their little children, so that they shall be frightened by him and thereby keep in good health or, if ill, be cured. The name given to him is Hérma, an Arabic word meaning "decrepit."

The same name is used at Saffi, a little town on the



HÉRNA AT MARRÁKSH.

Atlantic coast, and in Morocco City (Marráksh). In the latter town I saw, at the Great Feast, a man dressed up in goatskins, with a mask over his face and a stick in his hand, walking about in the streets, dancing and frightening the people. He was accompanied by a man playing the tambourine, and a small crowd of spectators (Plate VIII.). I was told that there was a similar personage moving about in every division of the town.

In various other Moorish towns a masquerade takes place at the Great Feast. At Fez it is arranged by the *farrāna*, or bakers, of each quarter (*ḥadma*) of the town separately. It is there called *bāḥṣeh*, after the name given to the chief figure in it, who is represented by a person dressed up as an old man with his face covered by a mask made of the skin of a sacrificed sheep. The woolly side of the skin is turned outwards, but the wool has been cut off so as to leave only eye-brows, whiskers, beard, and a moustache. His wife, named *Šūna*, is a fat old lady represented by a youth well padded with clothes, with several kerchiefs on his head and a mask made either of sheepskin, with the woolly side turned inwards, or of paper. *Šūna* has her cheeks painted with ochre (*‘āḳkar*), her underlip with walnut-root, and her eyes with Moorish ink, as a substitute for antimony; but, if her part is played by a beardless youth, his face may be left uncovered, and in such a case there is no blackening of the eyes and both the underlip and cheeks are covered with ochre, the stains of which are easily removed. The party consists of many other persons as well. There are three or four old "Jews" (*l-ihūd*) with masks of sheepskin and beards, each carrying a tambourine (*tar*), and the same number of "Jewesses" (*l-ihudīāt*), their wives, who wear masks like *Šūna*'s and have with them tambourines, like their husbands. There is, moreover, a "Jew" called *l-ihūdi l-ḥāwvā* ("the Jew the fisherman"), carrying on his shoulder a bamboo cane with a basket (*sūlla*) which is supposed to contain fish.

There is a "Christian" (*nāsrānī*),—an "ambassador" with a three-cornered hat on his head,—who is accompanied by his Moorish servants; and a "courier" (*rāḳḳāy*) brings him letters. There is a "mule" (*bāḡla*), represented by a person who is carrying the skull of a camel on a stick, who is provided with a tail of horsehair, and whose head and back are covered with a rug (*ḡellās*) on the top of which is a packsaddle. There are *ṭabbālīn*, playing drums (*ṭbāl*, sing. *ṭbāl*), and oboes (*ḡīdī*, sing. *ḡīḍa*); and there are dancing boys (*l-ʿayyāl*) from Arabic-speaking mountain tribes. All these persons go about from house to house every night from the evening of the second day of the feast till that of the seventh day (*sābaʿ ʿid*). The performance opens by the entering of Bāššēḥ and the *ṭabbālīn*. The former begins to dance, while the latter play and sing as follows,—*A Bāššēḥ aūdḍī, a l-lāḥya d-abērḍī, a Bāššēḥ l-fārrān, a l-lāḥya del-ḡārrān* ("O Bāššēḥ my dear fellow, O beard of reeds, O Bāššēḥ of the oven, O beard of the cuckold!"). Šūna enters and dances in her turn, after which she and Bāššēḥ perform together a lascivious dance, the former wagging her stomach, and the latter kissing and embracing her and giving himself a most indecent appearance by making a fold in his clothes. The *ṭabbālīn*, who have been playing all the time, now sing,—*A Bāššēḥ twa twa twa līlu!*—which implies an exhortation to Bāššēḥ to have sexual connection with Šūna. After the owner of the house has given them some money, which they hand over to the manager of the play, they go aside and are succeeded by the Jews, who play on their instruments, dance, and sing some nonsense in the Arabic idiom peculiar to the Jews. The same is then done by the Jewesses, who dance first alone and afterwards with their husbands. The Jew with the basket enters and dances; the other Jews and the Jewesses gather round him to buy fish; one of them is pushed down and dies; his wife weeps over him, scratching her face in the usual manner; the Jews ask the owner

of the house to give money for the funeral, telling him that otherwise they will leave the body where it is; and the money demanded is paid and given to the manager. All the Jews and Jewesses disappear from the scene, and the Christian ambassador enters with his Moorish servants, who are carrying copybooks, keys, and a chair, on which he sits down. The courier now brings him some letters, which he opens and reads, then calling for a mule, which is brought in by one of his servants. When he mounts it, it falls down and dies. The groom summons the Jew from whom the animal was bought, and shouts to him,—*Zérğa mâi'et* ("The grey [mule] died"); but, as the Jew is very deaf, this is shouted several times into his ear, and even then he does not hear what is said until the groom yells it out close to his posteriors. After the usual payment is made, all these people retire, the *ṭabbālîn* strike up a tune, and the dancing boys enter and begin to dance. Their fees, consisting of small silver coins, are stuck with saliva on their foreheads, as is the custom of the Jbâla, and are afterwards taken by the manager of the play. The performance has now come to an end, to be repeated at another house.

Much more simple was the play performed at the Great Feast in the garden occupied by me during my stay in Fez. Late at night I was visited by a party consisting of an "old man," with a mask of sheepskin, two "women," three musicians,—two of whom had a *béndir* (small tambourine) and one an *dgwal* (short clay cylinder with skin),—and a small crowd of men who lined themselves up in a row and with rhythmical clapping of their hands accompanied the music of the little band and the dancing of the old man and the two women. This performance was arranged by immigrants from the surrounding country, who were living in cottages (*nwâil*) in the same quarter of the town.

As regards the origin of the masquerade at the Great Feast, I was at Marráksh told the following story:—After

the death of the Prophet his followers once captured a Christian king, who was afterwards bought back by his people for a dog. He was taken to his country, dressed up in goatskins and accompanied by musicians playing on their instruments. This was done at the time of the Great Feast; hence a man is still on that occasion dressed up in goatskins and taken about with music. This is the only native explanation I ever heard of the masquerade, and I need hardly say that it is a very unsatisfactory one.

The Great Feast is not the only occasion when a masquerade takes place in Morocco. In several towns and in some country districts in the South there is also a masquerade on or immediately after the day of 'Āšûra, and at Demnat, a little town in the Great Atlas, I was told that there is one at 'Āšûra alone. When the Court is in Fez, the Sultan's soldiers (*l-'āskar*) arrange there a great show, which is performed before the Sultan in the evening of the day of 'Āšûra and following nights in the houses of his ministers and other dignitaries or wealthy persons. An important feature of this show is an illuminated toy-house, called *bsâṭ*, made of paper mounted on wooden frames and provided with a cupola like a saint's tomb. It resembles "the tomb of el-Ḥusain" which figures in the 'Āšûra plays of the Shī'ah Moslems in Persia and India;²⁴ and, as a matter of fact, like those Moslems, the people of Fez also maintain that Sīdna l-Ḥōsin (as they pronounce his name) died on the 10th of Moharram. The *bsâṭ* is carried round by soldiers in a procession containing a large number of persons dressed up as different sorts of people, spirits, and animals, and also some other conspicuous objects besides the toy-house. There is the black image of a serpent-like monster, called *s-Sâṭ*, with the head of a man and a long beard, carried on a cane by a soldier who makes it dance and bow. There is a steamer, *bābbōr*, made of wood and dragged along on wheels. There are musicians playing on

²⁴ See Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, 1896, pp. 408 *et seq.*

toy-instruments, *mūsēka dēl-bsāt*; a fat *kādi*, or judge, wearing a ridiculous headgear; two shereefs from Mecca (*hāl Mēkka*); several *Dārḳāwa* (members of the *Dārḳāwi* brotherhood), with rosaries of shells, tall caps made of reeds, and long staffs in their hands, singing the grossest obscenities; a *šuwāfa*, or fortune-telling woman, equally indecent in her talk; prostitutes addressing themselves especially to shereefs and other highly respected men; *Drāwa*, *Gnāwa*, Jews, Jewesses, and Christians, among whom are a *bašadōr* (ambassador) and his *t'ūrjmān* (dragoman). There are, moreover, some *jūn* represented by boys dressed up in red jackets and trousers, with white masks over their faces, carrying in their hands needles with which they prick the people as they pass along. There are two other spirit-beings, *l-gōl* and *l-gōla*, whose behaviour is as shocking as their dress. And there are a camel with its driver and a leopard and a leopardess copulating in public.

This show is collectively named *bsāt* after the toy-house, and the same name²⁵ is given to the 'Āšūra play even in towns like Mazagan, where there is no representation of a house, but persons dressed up as Christians and Jews only carry round lighted paper lanterns. In country districts no such ceremony is connected with the masquerade which sometimes takes place on this occasion. In Aglu, in Sūs, a party dress themselves up to represent a variety of persons and animals,—an old man and an old woman, Jews and Jewesses, Christians, a female donkey, a hyena, a leopard, a lion, and a wild sheep (*udād*). They are called *imḡarn tyūd* ("the chiefs of the night"), because they walk about at night, commencing in the evening of the 12th of Moharram, that is, two days after the day of 'Āšūra, and not finishing the tour till they have visited all the villages of the tribe. They imitate the idioms of the persons or the sounds of the animals they represent, they sing and play,

²⁵ Or *lē-bīdāt*, as I have also heard it pronounced.

their talk is most lascivious, and the behaviour of the old couple in particular is as indecent as it could be. I am told that among another tribe in Sûs, at 'Āšûra, four men dress themselves up as a Jew, a Jewess, an Arab, and an Arab woman. The Arab robs the Jew of his wife, and, when the latter tries to get her back, he is shot dead by the Moslem with a toy gun made of a bamboo cane. M. Doutté speaks of a masquerade at 'Āšûra among the Šluḥ of Hāḥa near Mogador and among their neighbours, the Arabs of the Šiādma;²⁶ but he is certainly mistaken in his statement that the Morocco masquerade most commonly takes place on this occasion.²⁷ In country districts, so far as I know, the 'Āšûra play is an exception, whereas the masquerade of the Great Feast is well nigh universal, and occurs even among tribes, like those of Sûs, who have a masquerade at 'Āšûra.

There are also masquerades that regularly take place on certain dates of the solar year. Among the Brāber of the Ait Warāin, in the evening of *byānnu*,²⁸ or New Year's Day (Old Style), two young men dress themselves up as an animal which resembles a camel and is called Būjertil, that is "one who is dressed in a mat," on account of the mat (*ajertil*) which they throw over their backs. Thus made up they walk about from house to house in their own village and in neighbouring villages that night and the following night, accompanied by two persons disguised as Jews, one of whom is leading Būjertil, as also by a crowd of lads and unmarried young men carrying in their

²⁶ Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 1909, pp. 506 et seq.

²⁷ *Idem*, Merrâkech, p. 370; cf. *Idem*, *Magie et religion etc.*, pp. 525 et seq.

²⁸ The word *byānnu* is most likely derived from the Latin *bonus annus*. At Tlemcen, in Algeria, there was formerly a New Year's ceremony in which the chief figure was a masked person called Babennāni or Bumennāni. In the Aurès the New Year's feast is called *buini* or *bumini*, whilst the masquerade which takes place in March is called *bundn*, (Doutté, *Magie et religion etc.*, pp. 548 et seq.).

hands oleander sticks with black and white designs made by the peeling off of the bark from some parts of the stick and the scorching of the wood before the removal of the rest of the bark. They sing,—“*Byānnu, byānnu!*” and the people give them food and money. Anybody who should refuse doing so would be severely punished by the chief of the troop breaking a stick and throwing it at the door of his house with the phrase,—*Āderz rābbi aḥḥamēnneš!* (“May God break your house!”).

M. Mouliéras informs us that among the Zkāra, a Moroccan tribe near the Algerian frontier, there is a little masquerade, called *sāna*, towards the middle of May, the persons taking part in it representing a Jew, his wife ‘Azzūna, and a Christian.²⁹ In Algeria masquerades are reported to take place in certain districts,—at ‘Āšūra, at the Great Feast, at the New Year, or in the early spring from the end of February till the middle of March.³⁰

M. Doutté suggests that the North-West African masquerade originally was held in the spring, and was only afterwards, in most cases, associated with dates of the lunar calendar.³¹ But his suggestion is founded on the belief that the masquerade is the survival of an ancient custom of slaying the god of vegetation, and for this conjecture I find no evidence in existing facts. So far as I know, there is no instance of a mock-murder of the chief figure in it, who might be supposed to represent the old god, and this omission can hardly be compensated for by the death of the Jew and the mule in the masquerade of Fez or the fact, mentioned by M. Doutté, that at Wargla, in Algeria, there is a fight between a monster, generally in the shape of a lion, and a native armed with a gun, which ends in the slaughter of the beast;³² indeed,

²⁹ Mouliéras, *Une Tribu Zénète Anti-Musulmane au Maroc*, 1905, pp. 102 et seq.

³⁰ Doutté, *Magie et religion etc.*, pp. 496 et seq.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 529.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 498, 499, 533.

M. Biarnay, in his description of the masquerade of Wargla at 'Āšūra, simply speaks of a lion-hunt.³³ Nor are there signs of any intrinsic connection at all between the masquerade and vegetation. It may perhaps be suspected that the sexual frivolities which form so common a feature of the play are a magical rite intended to promote the growth of the crops; but, whatever was the case in earlier times, I am not aware of any such idea being at present held by the natives. And, if Bújlūd is sometimes induced to plough, the reason for it may simply have been a wish that he should give the soil the benefit of his *baraka*, just as he blesses the people and tents by beating them.

For my own part I have little doubt that the masquerade belongs to those ceremonies the original object of which is essentially to rid the people of evil influences. A distinguishing feature of the masquerade which takes place at the Great Feast is that the chief figure in it is invariably dressed in skins of sacrificed animals, or at all events has his face covered with a mask of such material. He walks about beating people and tents with a flap of the skin which covers his arm or the foot of a sacrificed animal, or, very commonly, with a stick which he carries in his hand. By so doing he is, in many places, expressly supposed to expel baleful influences owing to the benign virtue inherent in the instrument with which he beats or to the *baraka* of the skins in which he is dressed. But at the same time he is teased, mocked, pushed about, and sometimes slapped with slippers,—in other words, he is to some extent a scapegoat as well as a positive expeller of evils. The scapegoat idea seems likewise, and indeed exclusively, to be at the bottom of the custom of dressing up men as animals, which are then taken about or chased and sometimes even killed.³⁴ The domestic animals which

³³ Biarnay, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère de Ouargla*, 1908, p. 213.

³⁴ Cf. the European custom of hunting the wren and the procession in which the wren or other animal is carried round the village or town, (Frazer, *The*

are represented in the masquerade are almost invariably beasts of burden, camels or mules, presumably because such animals are considered most suitable to carry away the evils of the people;³⁵ whilst the prominence which among the wild beasts is given to the wild boar may perhaps be due to the idea that this animal, on account of its extreme uncleanness, is particularly apt to attract evil influences. A notion of the same kind may have led to the representation of unclean human individuals, Jews and Christians, in the masquerade, and may even have something to do with the gross obscenities which so commonly characterise the whole play. A feature of it which distinctly suggests a purificatory origin is the universal custom of giving presents of food or money to the masqueraders; almsgiving, as we have seen, is throughout the feast practised as a means of purification. Again, the custom of Bújlud or Šéhšioḥ throwing ashes on the people reminds us of the purificatory fires of 'Ansāra and 'Āšūra. It is indeed a fact which speaks strongly in favour of the cathartic nature of the Moorish masquerade that, both at the Great Feast and 'Āšūra, it occurs hand in hand with other ceremonies which are obviously of a purificatory character. As for the New Year's masquerade of the Ait Waráin, it is worth noticing that sticks play a prominent part in cathartic rites,³⁶ and that in Morocco the oleander is used for the purpose of expelling disease spirits. When I visited the famous Imi n-Taḵḵándut in the mountains of Ḥáḥa, I found in one of the two caves of which it consists several twigs of the oleander with which patients troubled

Golden Bough, 1900, vol. ii, pp. 442 *et seq.*). For these and similar customs Mr. Thomas has for good reasons suggested a cathartic origin, (*Folk-Lore*, vol. xvii, pp. 269 *et seq.*).

³⁵ At Janbu', in Arabia, when the plague is raging, a camel is taken about in all the quarters of the town in order to attract and take away the disease, after which it is killed, (Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 1889, vol. i, p. 34).

³⁶ See, e.g., Thomas, in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xvii, p. 262.

with *lāryah*, disease spirits, had been beaten for curative purposes.

Certain features of the Moorish masquerade suggest that it may be supposed to fulfil a useful function not only by driving or carrying away evil influences, but also in a less material manner. It turns into mockery what otherwise is regarded with religious veneration. At the Great Feast the man who is dressed up in the skins of sacrificed animals and who is frequently considered to embody the *baraka* of the feast is put to ridicule and treated with indignity, he is surrounded by unclean individuals, and his own behaviour is most indecent. A similar spirit of blasphemy and impurity pervades the masquerade which takes place at 'Āšūra; the grossest obscenities are sung by persons representing pious men, and the very rites of religion are scoffed at. At Wargla in Algeria, according to M. Biarnay, "un *imam* vient inviter les gens déguisés à faire la prière avec lui, il leur demande de s'orienter, aussitôt tous se tournent vers l'Ouest ou le Nord; l'*imam* récite-t-il une formule rituelle, ses accolytes la reprennent en y ajoutant toutes sortes d'obscénités dans le geste et les paroles, le tout à la plus grande joie des assistants hommes, femmes et enfants."³⁷ All this mockery may perhaps be explained as a method of ceremonial profanation by which the people try to shake off the holiness of the feast so as to be able to return without danger to their ordinary occupations of life. It is noteworthy that the masquerade commences after the chief part of the feast is over.

If the original object of the masquerade is to free the people from evils, and more particularly from the baleful influences of holiness, it may of course take place on any occasion when a cathartic ceremony is held desirable, and there is, so far, no reason to assume that it was at first attached to some date or period of the solar year and afterwards transferred to one or another of the Muhammedan

³⁷ Biarnay, *op. cit.*, p. 214. Cf. Mouliéras, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

feasts. Nor can we say when and where it originated; it even seems hopeless to speculate on these points, as we know nothing about its history and hardly anything about the prevalence of masquerades among other Muhammedans than those of Morocco and Algeria and the Shi'ah Moslems of Persia and India. It is worth noticing, however, that there is some resemblance between the Moorish masquerade and the European carnival, whatever be the cause of this resemblance. The *bābbōr* of the 'Āšūra play at Fez reminds us of the ship, dedicated to Dionysus, which was driven on wheels through the streets of Athens, and of the ship-waggon which was in use at a spring festival in certain parts of mediæval Germany. Like the Moorish masquerade the European carnival is combined with purificatory ceremonies, such as fire and water rites; and during the Carnival gifts are collected by children who go about singing certain songs and afterwards make a common feast of the materials thus received.³⁸ But this resemblance cannot by itself be regarded as an evidence of a common origin. Similar cathartic and other rites may have grown up in different places independently of one another. Vessels laden with disease-demons or misfortunes are found among many savage peoples,³⁹ and the Nicobar Islanders once a year, for purificatory purposes, carry the model of a ship through their villages,⁴⁰ just as the Sultan's soldiers carry a similar model through the streets of Fez.

The striking prevalence of cathartic ceremonies at the Great Feast tempts me to suggest a possible explanation of the principal feature of it, the sacrifice, which was borrowed by Islam from pre-Muhammedan Arabian paganism. Its primary object may have been to expel evils which were supposed to threaten the people at the time of the year when the sacrifice took place. The ancient

³⁸ See Rademacher, 'Carnival,' in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iii, pp. 226 *et seq.*

³⁹ Frazer, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 97 *et seq.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 106.

Arabs were great believers in the magic influence of certain periods. Only thus can we explain the remarkable institution known as the "sacred months," that is to say, months during which a universal peace prevailed, no vengeance could be executed, and even the murderer enjoyed security. And combined with the sacrifice there were several ceremonies which apparently had a purificatory character; at 'Arafāt the assembled pilgrims made merry with lighted torches and in the neighbourhood of Minā they threw some pebbles on three different heaps of stones, a practice which the Muhammedans say is directed against Satan.⁴¹ But it is not my intention in the present article to discuss the ritual of the Meccan pilgrimage, although the Moorish celebration of the Great Feast possibly may throw some light on it.

EDWARD WESTERMARCK.

⁴¹ Nöldeke, 'Arabs (Ancient),' in Hastings, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 668 *et seq.* Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 1897, pp. 80, 98. Burton, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 203 *et seq.*

KING MIDAS AND HIS ASS'S EARS.

BY W. CROOKE, B.A.

(*Read at Meeting, December 21st, 1910.*)

THE ancient kingdom of Phrygia, during the tenth and eleventh centuries before our era, held sway, almost without a rival, over the western half of Asia Minor. Its westward extension, which included influence over Lydia, is indicated by the cycle of myth which grew up round its rulers, and by the parallel which Herodotus suggests between its political position and that of the Lydian Gyges.¹ The princes of this line adopted the dynastic titles of Midas and Gordius or Gordias. One of these monarchs, known as Midas, is commemorated by the remarkable monument representing the façade of a house or temple, which is said to be his tomb.² "Excepting Midas, son of Gordius, king of Phrygia," says Herodotus,³ "Gyges was the first of the barbarians whom we know to have sent offerings to Delphi. Midas dedicated the royal throne whereon he was accustomed to sit and administer justice, an object well worth looking at. It is in the same place as the goblets presented by Gyges." Herodotus,⁴ again, speaks of a place in Macedonia called "the Gardens of Midas, son of Gordius," where roses grew of themselves and with blossoms that had as many as sixty petals apiece. Here Midas is said to have

¹ Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires*, pp. 330 *et seq.*; Professor J. L. Myres, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xxvi., p. 123.

² Maspero, *op. cit.*, pp. 331 *et seq.*

³ i. 14.

⁴ viii. 138.

captured the satyr Silenus, of whom it was believed that when he was drunk or asleep mortals could compel him to prophesy and sing by surrounding him with chains of flowers. Midas mixed wine in the well from which Silenus was wont to drink, and did not release him till he had held high discourse on the nature of the world and the vanity of human life. The satyr also conferred upon him the power that whatever he touched should turn to gold, a story which in many forms is the common property of folklore.⁵ Another famous tale connected with this dynasty of Phrygia is that of the knot at Gordium which Alexander the Great, when he failed to untie it, cut through with his sword. Professor Frazer⁶ reasonably suggests that this magic virtue attached to the knot caused it to be regarded as the talisman with which the fate of the kingdom was believed to be bound up, and which, like other magic knots, was effective only so long as it remained tied.

Tales such as these invite much examination. But I am now concerned only with the story of the King Midas who had ears like those of an ass, which has come down to us in classical literature.⁷ These ears are said to have been fixed upon him as a punishment by Apollo, because, when Midas was called upon to judge between the lyre of Apollo and the pastoral pipe of Pan, he pronounced that the latter instrument was more harmonious. Midas tried to conceal this deformity by wearing a purple head-dress. But his slave, who discovered the secret, whispered it into a hole in the ground, where reeds grew which, when shaken by the wind, betrayed him.

We may first discuss the wanderings of this much-travelled tale.

⁵ Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. ii., p. 74 : Macculloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, pp. 220 *et seq.* ; Tawney, *Kathā-sarīt-sāgara*, vol. ii., pp. 8, 453 ; Miss M. R. Cox, *Cinderella*, pp. 508 *et seq.*

⁶ *The Golden Bough*, vol. i., p. 493.

⁷ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, xi., 146-193 ; Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 287.

In its original form it is still current in Greece.⁸

Passing westward, we find it in various forms among the Celts. In one version given by Jeoffry Keating,⁹ Labradh Loingseach, king of Ireland, had ears like those of a horse. To conceal the fact the king used to slay every barber who cut his hair. At last it became necessary to select by lot the person who was forced to undertake this dangerous duty. The lot fell upon a youth, the son of a poor widow, who appealed to the king for mercy. He promised to spare the boy's life on condition that he swore not to reveal anything he might see. But "secrecy, it seems, was ever a burden," and the youth through the load of the secret fell sick. His mother consulted a famous Druid, who advised the boy to go to a neighbouring wood, and, when he came to the meeting place of four highways, a place where evil influences can be dispersed,¹⁰ he was to turn to the right and whisper the secret into the first tree he met. He did this at a willow tree, and found immediate relief. After this the harp of Craftine, the king's musician, was broken, and he cut a branch of the tree wherewith to repair it. Then the harp refused to give any tune other than *De Chluais chapail ar Labradh Loingseach*, which being interpreted means "Labradh Loingseach has the ears of a horse." The king, observing this miracle, regarded it as the work of the gods offended at his cruelty in slaying so many innocent young men. "He repented of the barbarity he had used, and openly exposed his long ears all his life afterwards."

⁸ Schmidt, *Griechische Märchen, Sagen, und Volkslieder*, pp. 70 *et seq.*, 224 *et seq.*, quoted by Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. ii., p. 74, who gives a Servian parallel from Karadschitsch, *Volksmärchen der Serben*, No. 39, pp. 225 *et seq.*, which has been translated by Naake, *Slavonic Fairy Tales*, p. 61.

⁹ *The General History of Ireland*, translated by Dermot O'Connor, 1841, vol. i., pp. 203 *et seq.*; cf. *Folk-Lore Record*, vol. iv., p. 33 note; and, for a variant, *Notes and Queries*, 7th Series, vol. v., p. 502.

¹⁰ Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, vol. ii., p. 256 note.

This tale, with sundry characteristic embellishments, has come down to our day as "The King with the Horse's Ears" in Patrick Kennedy's collection.¹¹ Sir John Rhys¹² gives the Welsh version which is told of March (or Parch) Amheirchion, one of the warriors of King Arthur, who had horse's ears. Lest anybody should know of this, he used to slay every barber who shaved his beard. In the place where their bodies were buried reeds grew up, and, when somebody cut one to make a pipe, it would utter no other sound than "March Amheirchion has horse's ears." The warrior would have slain the unfortunate maker of the pipe had it not been that he himself could not make the instrument produce any other sound. But, when he learnt where the reed had grown, he made no further effort to conceal the murders or his deformity.

In a different form the tale appears in the versions from Brittany. In one of these a Seigneur, lord of the desolate rock of Karn, near Portzall, used to subject his vassals to oppressive feudal dues, which even extended to the supply of barbers to cut his hair. None of these, after their work was done, ever returned to the mainland. At length an intrepid youth named Louthouarn undertook to deliver the Seigneur's vassals from his oppression. When the Seigneur removed his head-gear before him, the youth observed that he had ears like those of a horse. Without betraying any surprise he began his work, but he soon came to the conclusion that this accounted for the disappearance of his comrades. So he seized the opportunity and cut off the Seigneur's head with a vigorous sweep of his razor. Then he passed through the guards, who were no little surprised that he was allowed to return, and rejoined his friends safe and sound.¹³ Mr. E. S. Hartland, to whom I am indebted for this reference and others included in this paper,¹⁴ informs

¹¹ Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, ed. 1891, pp. 219 *et seq.*

¹² *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx*, vol. i., pp. 233 *et seq.*

¹³ *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, vol. i., p. 327. ¹⁴ Notes 17, 18, 20, 23.

me that M. Sébillot, who collected this tale in Brittany, remarks that, in another version, the scene of which is laid at Crozon, the reeds grow and are, as in the Welsh tale, made into pipes, which can only repeat,—“Portzmarch, King Portzmarch has horse's ears.” In the Museum at Quimper there is a stone bearing a bas-relief of a human head with horse's ears and holes in the forehead surmounted by a small boss and the remains of horns, which M. Luzel explains by the king's unfortunate marital experiences. The people call it the head of King March with the ears of a horse.¹⁵

A similar tale is that known as *Ar Roué Guivarch*, in which the king covers his horse's ears with a cap. The barber, sworn to secrecy, confided the fact to a clump of elder-trees growing on a slope. Next year a new threshing-floor was laid down in a neighbouring village, and there was to be a grand dance in honour of the occasion. The bagpipe player, passing the elder clump, cut a branch to repair the reed of his instrument. While the dance was going on, the pipe, instead of giving out the usual sound, repeated,—“King Guivarch has horse's ears.” The king, who was present at the sports, was no little surprised to hear the pipe make this indiscreet revelation. His anger fell upon the musician, who protested that he could make the instrument produce no other sound, and, passing it to the king, said,—“Try it yourself.” The result was the same, and the king said,—“Ah well! Since this possessed bagpipe has told you my secret, judge for yourselves,” and he took off his cap, so that every one could see his horse's ears. Mr. Hartland informs me that, when this tale was told at a meeting of the *Société des Traditions Populaires*, M. Allain described it as a Breton tale which he had heard from his father. He added an interesting detail, or rather a fragment of a variant. One of the king's barbers for his

¹⁵ *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, vol. vii., p. 356; see also the remarks of Sébillot on this class of tales, *Le Folklore de France*, vol. iii., pp. 431, 527.

indiscretion was put to death, and on his tomb grew an elder-tree. The piper broke off one of its branches to repair his instrument.¹⁶

Passing from the Celtic area, we have the tale of the king of West Friesland, named Richard Arundel, who, from his enormously long ears, was called King Ass-ears. He was of mighty stature, and had to wife a giantess, the daughter of a giant from Albion, by whom he had two children, a son named Lord Falcon, and a daughter who subsequently became queen of Friesland. Later on the tale diverges into other particulars, but adds nothing relevant to the subject.¹⁷

From Portugal comes the story of the childless king to whom three fairies promise a son. The first enchants him to be the most beautiful prince in the world; the second, that he should excel in virtue and wisdom; the third, that he should have the ears of an ass, to conceal which deformity the king provides him with a cap, and, when the prince's beard begins to grow, threatens the barber with death if he dares to betray the secret. The barber keeps his promise for a time; but one day he told his confessor that he knew a secret; if he did not tell it, he would surely die; if he told it, the king would kill him. So he asked the advice of the holy man, who advised him to go to a valley, dig a hole in the ground, and whisper the secret into it as often as necessary until he felt relieved; then he was to cover up the hole with earth. He followed this advice, and returned home feeling much easier in his mind. By and by a thicket of canes grew up over the hole which the barber had dug. Some shepherds cut the canes to make their pipes, which when they played them gave out no other sounds but "The prince has the ears of an ass." The king heard of this, and sent for the shepherds

¹⁶ *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, vol. vii., p. 357.

¹⁷ Wolf, *Niederländische Sagen*, p. 9, citing old Frisian and Dutch chronicles.

to play before him. He even tried the pipes himself, and the same result followed. Then the king sent for the fairies, and begged them to remove the ass's ears from the head of the prince. They required that the whole court should be assembled, and, when this was done, in their presence they ordered the prince to take off his cap, when lo! to the delight of the king and queen, it appeared that the boy's deformity had disappeared. From that moment the pipes of the shepherds ceased to repeat "The prince has the ears of an ass."¹⁸

In one version from Morocco we are told of a beautiful girl captured by a Jew. He hands her over to the Sultan, and in return is appointed Vizier. Her only brother comes to see her; she recognises him, and hides him through fear of her husband. But he is discovered and received by the Sultan into his favour. He was able to play so finely on his reed flute that no one who heard him could abstain from weeping. The Sultan set him to herd his camels, but, as in the tales of Arion and Orpheus,¹⁹ when he played the beasts could no longer feed, and were obliged to listen to his playing. Hence they fell off in flesh, and the Sultan reproved the youth, who promised to lead them into better pasture. One day the Sultan ordered the youth to cut his hair, and he discovered that his master had horns on his head. Next morning, when he led forth the camels to graze, he sat by a well and played on his flute. By chance it dropped into the well, and then it produced the sound "The Sultan has horns." The Sultan learnt that the youth had discovered his secret, and he threatened him with death if he disclosed it. By and by the flute took root in the well, grew higher and higher, and ever sang the same words,—“The Sultan has horns.” One day the Sultan and his Vizier went to inspect the camels, and found them

¹⁸ Coelho, *Contos Populares Portuguezes*, 117.

¹⁹ For other parallels to this tale, like that of the Pied Piper, see Somadeva, *Kathā-sarīt-sāgara*, trans. C. H. Tawney, vol. i., 338.

listening and dancing to the music. When the Sultan heard the words he burst into tears, and, calling the youth, told him that it was only for his sister's sake that he spared his life. The Jew had the reed in the well cut down, but it sprang up again and repeated the same words. Again he cut it down, and smeared pitch on the stump, but to no purpose. Then the time came for the Sultan to have his hair cut, and he yielded to his wife's advice to employ her brother again. At her suggestion he took the opportunity of cutting the throat of the Sultan, slew the Jew Vizier, and seized the kingdom.²⁰

In the second version from the same region, told among the Chelhas, a Berber tribe, the barber relieves himself of the fatal secret in the same way. A singer passing by cuts a reed growing in the well, trims it, makes a pipe, and breathes into it, when it says,—“The king has horns.” He takes the pipe and goes his way. Here the tale diverges into another, but similar, type. The singer comes to a tree on which hangs a skin. He says,—“Providence has given me a drum.” So he mends his old drum with the skin. Now this was the skin of one of the king's sons. Some time before this the king had said to his two sons,—“Whichever of you brings me a gazelle with her fawn running behind her, he shall be my heir.” One of the brothers succeeds in the quest, and his jealous brother kills him, flays his corpse, and hangs the skin on a tree. This was the skin with which the singer had chanced to mend his drum. He appears before the king and lays his flute on the ground, on which it says thrice,—“The king has horns”; and, when the drum is placed beside it, it says,—“My brother slew me for the sake of the gazelle and her fawn.” The king puts the singer under examination, rewards him, and sending for the barber and the prince puts both to death.²¹

²⁰ Stumme, *Märchen der Schluch von Töserwatt*, 138.

²¹ *Journal Asiatique*, February-March, 1889, pp. 208 *et seq.* For this

Alexander the Great, according to the well-known Moslem tradition, had horns on his head, and hence he was called Zū'l-Qarnain, "he of the two horns."²² It is doubtful whether this legend really belongs to the type which we are now considering, but an Armenian story connects them. Alexander, as usual, swears his barber to secrecy. But he, overcome by internal pains as the result of the enforced reticence, whispers the secret into a well and finds relief. A reed springs from the well, and, when it is made into a flute, it reveals the secret. Alexander sends for the unhappy barber, will not listen to his excuses, and has his head cut off.²³

Perhaps the richest of all the versions is found in what may be called the Mongolo-Iranian type. In its most complete form it tells how the king of Black China, east of India, had never since his accession showed himself to his subjects. Every day he used to send for a barber, and, when he had finished his office, he was executed. At last it became necessary to select a barber by lot, and the turn came of the son of an old woman. She gives him a cake made from flour mixed with her own milk, and warns him to keep nibbling it all the time when he is dressing the king's beard. The youth discovers that the king has the ears of an ass. Meanwhile the king notices that the cake, which the boy is eating, smells very good. So he asks him how it was made. The boy explains,

reference I am indebted to M. E. Cosquin, who remarks that he has illustrated the latter part of the tale in his *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, No. 26. Cf. the tale of the flaying of Marsyas, and the hanging of his skin on a tree, which seems to reflect a ritual practice of flaying the dead god, and hanging his skin on the pine as a means of effecting his resurrection, and with it the revival of vegetation in spring, (Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, pp. 242 *et seq.*).

²² *Korān*, Sūrah xviii., 82.

²³ *Revue de l'histoire de Religion*, vol. xliii., p. 346, translating a tale told to Professor Ialayan by Armenians at Zanguezur in Russian Armenia.

and the king says,—“It is contrary to nature to kill the son of such a mother.” So he spares the boy, and swears him to secrecy. The boy falls ill through the secret which hangs upon his mind, and his physician advises him that he will never recover until he gets rid of it. His mother suggests that he should go into the desert and whisper it into a crack in a tree or rock. The youth follows this advice, and whispers the secret into a tree, in a hole of which lives a squirrel which chatters it out. The news reaches the king, who sends for the boy and learns the whole story. The boy promises the king that he will make him a cap to cover his deformity. This cap comes into fashion, and is used by every one. The king is delighted that he can now appear in public, and makes the boy his minister.²⁴

In the Turkoman version the Khan, long childless, was at last blessed with a son, Jany Bek, who was born with the ears of an ass. To conceal this deformity, every barber who shaved him was put to death. A youth who had learnt the secret gains his favour and is appointed minister. Years pass, and one day at a hunt his falcon outstrips that of the Khan. In thoughtless exultation he cries out,—“My falcon is better than the falcon of ass-eared Jany Bek Khan.” Too late he regrets his hasty words, and flies to save his life. After a time he returns to the capital, and one day, while sitting at the well in the palace square, in regret for the renewed cruelties of the Khan, he prays to God to punish him. In answer to his prayer the water begins to pour out of the well in such abundance that it submerges the city, and its cruel ruler and his cowardly subjects are destroyed.²⁵ Similar cases of the destruction of cities as a

²⁴ E. Cosquin, *Le Lait de la Mère et le Coffre Flottant* (1908), pp. 58 et seq., quoting the *Siddhi Kūr*, Tale 22. Cf. A. de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, vol. i., pp. 381 et seq.

²⁵ E. Schuyler, *Turkistan*, vol. II., p. 129.

punishment for the sins of their rulers and people are common.²⁶

Sir H. Layard gives a Persian version which he heard from a man of Shuster. This tells of King Shapur or Sapor, who ascended the throne 240 B.C., and was the conqueror of the Roman Emperor Valerian and the subject of many legends. He is said to have had horns on his head, and his barber whispers the secret into a well. Soon after, a shepherd, to make a pipe, cuts a reed which grows at the edge of the well. The first time the pipe is played it utters the words,—“Shapur has horns.” The king, learning that the secret has been betrayed, questions the barber, and, when he hears his explanation, graciously pardons him.²⁷

I have been as yet unable to trace this much-travelled tale further east than India, where we find at least four versions, one from the extreme north, two from the central region, and one from the south.

From Gilgit, on the northern frontier, comes the tale of “The Foot of Malik the Rā of Gilgit.” One of his feet was shaped like that of an ass. No one, except a single old servant, knew of this. He kept the secret for a while, but, to quote the native narrator, “his belly began to swell day by day, owing to his keeping the knowledge to himself.” So he goes to a mountain, digs a hole just large enough to hold his head, “and began to cry as loud as possible, in order to let the secret from his belly, that one of the feet of Malik was like the hoof of an ass. He continued repeating the words till he felt quite cured,

²⁶ Many parallels to the story of the destruction of Sodom are collected in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, vol. iv., p. 4670. Similar tales are told of the cities of Valabhi in Gujarat and Māndoi in Cutch (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i., part i., p. 94; vol. v., p. 239; A. K. Forbes, *Rās-Māla*, p. 14). Cf. *The Jātaka*, Cambridge translation, vol. iv., p. 244; Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, vol. i., pp. 217 *et seq.*

²⁷ Sir H. Layard, *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia*, vol. ii., pp. 264 *et seq.*

and then returned to Gilgit." A couple of Chili trees spring from the hole, and a shepherd cuts a branch to make a flute. This repeats the fatal words, and the Rā himself, to his perplexity and sorrow, hears the news. He questions the servant, who can give no answer till he traces the wood out of which the flute was made. He tells the story to the great amusement of the Rā, and thus saves his life.²⁸

In the version recorded by myself from the lips of a jungle man in Mirzapur, the Raja has two horns growing from his forehead, a secret known only to his barber. He feels compelled to disclose it, and whispers it into a tamarind-tree. The tree is blown down in a storm, and the Raja gives the wood to his musician to make a drum, which, when beaten, says,—“There are horns on the head of the Raja.” When the Raja hears this he dismisses the musician; but, when he beats it himself, the result is the same. He reflects,—“If I dash the drum on the ground and smash it to pieces, some greater trouble may befall me. It is better that I should become a Fakīr.” So he starts on his wanderings. One day, as he sits under a tree, he hears two thieves quarrelling over the division of some plunder which they had gained. When they go their way, servants appear who spread carpets, and they are followed by a number of fairies who ask the Raja to play his drum for them while they dance. This gratifies the fairies, who, when the dance is over, ask the Raja who he is and how he got the horns. When they hear his story they lift the horns from his head and fix one on the head of each of the thieves, who are forthwith turned into Rākshasas or demons. The story ends with the moral,—“Never confide a secret to a person who wins your confidence by flattery.”²⁹

²⁸ Ghulām Muhammad, *Festivals and Folklore of Gilgit*, in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. i. (1905), No. vii., pp. 113 *et seq.*

²⁹ *North Indian Notes and Queries*, vol. iii., p. 104.

The Santāl version is more imperfect. Here the Raja's son has ears like those of an ox. His father makes the barber take an oath of secrecy, but when he cannot disclose it his stomach swells to an enormous size. A Dom outcast asks him the cause of his malady. He blurts out the secret, on which his stomach regains its normal shape. The Dom cuts down a tree and makes a drum out of the wood, which when beaten says: "The son of the Raja has the ears of an ox." The Raja is wroth and swears that he will punish the treacherous barber. But the Dom explains that he was not to blame. The Dom receives a present, and the barber escapes punishment.³⁰

In Mysore the story runs that Chengal, a Raja of Bettudpur in the tenth century, had his right ear like that of an ass. The barber whispers the secret to a sandal-tree under which the Raja used to sit when he was being shaved. One day, pleased with the performance of some tumblers, he gives the tree to them. They cut it down, and make a drum out of the wood, which utters the ominous words. Thus everyone learnt the secret.³¹

A tale from Arakan, though not exactly akin to this type of story, may be quoted. The king Minzaw had a magic drum which made so loud a noise when it was beaten that it produced a panic throughout Burma. The king of Burma, in his alarm, sent an embassy to discover the secret. The ambassador learnt that the king of Arakan was so much feared that no one dared to look him in the face. So he directed his cook to boil some creepers in long pieces, and to bring them to the table when he next had the honour of dining with the king. While eating them he took the creepers by one end, and, raising them above his head, turned up his face so as to put the other end in his mouth. He thus succeeded in seeing the face of the king,

³⁰ C. H. Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 171.

³¹ B. L. Rice, *Mysore*², 1897, vol. ii., pp. 236 *et seq.*: ed. 1878, vol. ii., pp. 223 *et seq.*

and noticed that he had two tusks like those of a wild boar. The king himself was not aware that he had these tusks, and was astounded when he learnt the fact. The ambassador thus gained the confidence of the simple-minded king, and induced him to shorten the length of his drum, assuring him that if trenches were dug in his city treasure would be found, and that the king's tusks would be removed. He also succeeded in poisoning the water of the town by inducing the king to substitute wide for narrow-mouthed jars throughout his dominions. The result was that the king lost his power, his city, which had the power of flying in the air, could no longer do so, the water was polluted, and the country fell into the hands of the Burmese.³²

Comparing these versions, we may reasonably conclude that the deformity of the prince consists in the growth of ears or horns, not in a misshapen foot, as in the tale from Gilgit. It seems clear, also, that in the most primitive forms of the story the tree springs from the corpse or corpses of the murdered barber and his comrades; that it is the spirits of them, or the spirit of one of them, which animate the tree and speak through its wood when made into a drum or flute; or, rather, that the tree itself is the spirit of the murdered men, or a transformation of them. This theme constantly appears in folklore. Thus the nymph Syrinx, when pursued by Pan, flies into the river Ladon, and at her own request is turned into a reed, out of which Pan makes a pipe.³³ This grave-tree appears in Homer and elsewhere as the abode of the spirits of the dead which lie beneath it.³⁴ Many instances from savage beliefs to illustrate the principle that the souls of the dead

³² J. G. Scott, J. P. Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma*, 1900, vol. ii., part i., pp. 402 *et seq.* A different version, without the incident of the tusks, is given by Capt. T. H. Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong etc.*, 1869, pp. 53 *et seq.*

³³ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, i., 690.

³⁴ *Iliad*, vi., 419; cf. *Folk-Lore*, vol. xix., p. 66.

animate trees have been collected by Professor Frazer, and Miss Cox has provided parallels to the case of the tree springing from the bones of the dead.³⁵ Some cases from India admirably illustrate the present story cycle. Thus, in a Santāl story, the girl is drowned and becomes a bamboo out of which a Jugi makes a pipe which informs her relations of her fate.³⁶ In another story from the same people a gourd grows from the body of a dead monkey, and tells about the lost princess.³⁷ In a third, the brothers murder their sister; her corpse floats to the river bank, where a bamboo springs up; when a Dom tries to cut it to make a flute, the spirit of the girl cries out,—“O Dom! Do not cut high up; cut low down.” He obeys the voice, and makes a flute out of the wood, which every night turns into a woman.³⁸ So, in a Deccan tale, the children who are turned into rose-bushes cry out when the girl touches the flowers.³⁹ In a story from Ceylon the tree is a girl imprisoned by the Rākshasas or demons; when the prince cuts her in two, she becomes a tree; when he drops the knife, she regains her original shape.⁴⁰ The analogy of these tales to the cycle now under consideration is obvious.

The most important question, however, is the explanation of the legend of Midas appearing with the ears of an ass. This explanation, which I now venture to propose, rests upon the well-known principle that the folk-tale is often a naive method of accounting for some incident of ritual

³⁵ *The Golden Bough*², vol. i., pp. 178 *et seq.*; Cox, *Introduction to Folk-Lore*, pp. 72 *et seq.*

³⁶ A. Campbell, *Santal Folk Tales*, pp. 52 *et seq.*; cf. J. Jacobs, *Indian Fairy Tales*, pp. 240 *et seq.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 102 *et seq.*

³⁸ C. H. Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 390. In one of the tales of Somadeva, (*Kathā-sarīt-sāgara*, trans. C. H. Tawney), a woman comes out of a banyan tree, and a dry tree turns into a young Brahman (*ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 148).

³⁹ Miss M. Frère, *Old Deccan Days*², p. 57.

⁴⁰ H. Parker, *Village Folk-tales of Ceylon*, vol. i., pp. 264 *et seq.*

which was known only imperfectly through hearsay or tradition, or was so ancient that the original meaning of the rite had passed out of current knowledge. The theory which I now advance, and which occurred to me independently, has, I find, been anticipated by Mr. A. B. Cook, who has illustrated the subject with his usual wide display of learning.⁴¹

The custom found in various totemic rites of draping an idol or sacred stone in the skin of a sacrificial victim has been explained by Professor Robertson Smith as a theurgic practice intended to bring the sacred life into the stone or image. It is, he adds, "equally appropriate that the worshipper should dress himself in the skin of the victim, and so, as it were, envelop himself in its sanctity. To rude nations dress is not merely a physical comfort, but a fixed part of social religion, a thing by which a man constantly bears on his body the token of his religion, and which is itself a charm and a means of divine protection."⁴² A rite of this kind possibly explains the story of Jacob, when seeking his father's blessing, wearing the skins of sacrificial animals.⁴³ The custom of draping images, which is a later development of the same practice, a survival of the primitive custom of skin-wearing, prevailed widely in Greece, Babylonia, among various sects of Indian Vaishnavas, and in other places.⁴⁴

Again, in the ritual of the sacred marriages of gods, a

⁴¹ *Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age*, in *Journal of the Hellenic Society*, vol. xiv., pp. 81 *et seq.*

⁴² *Religion of the Semites*², pp. 436 *et seq.* When the Paniyans of Madras worship Kattu Bhasavati, goddess of the woods, the medium dresses in the clothing of the goddess, the divine afflatus descends upon him, and he utters prophecies, E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. vi., pp. 69 *et seq.* Cf. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. v., p. 233; Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, p. 174.

⁴³ *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, vol. i., p. 1140; vol. ii., p. 1334.

⁴⁴ Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. ii., pp. 574 *et seq.*; vol. iii., pp. 70, 592 *et seq.*; M. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 670; *North Indian Notes and Queries*, vol. v., pp. 43 *et seq.*; *Folk-Lore*, vol. v., pp. 333 *et seq.*

piece of sympathetic or mimetic magic intended to promote the fertility of men, animals, and crops, the god was represented at his marriage in animal form, Dionysus, for instance, appearing as a bull.⁴⁵

These forms of ritual, combined with the theriomorphic cult of animal deities, seem to have left numerous traces in the Ægean area where the tale of Midas appears to have originated. Thus we have the strange fresco at Mycenae, with figures bearing the heads not of horses but of asses, as is evident from the long ears and general outline of the mouth with its lips and nostrils.⁴⁶ These ass-headed figures have been identified with those of demons "which belong to the earliest conceptions of the Greeks,"⁴⁷ but they are more probably a record of incidents in a primitive ritual. Again, a lenticular carnelian shows a figure clothed in the skin of an ass, bearing a pole on his shoulder.⁴⁸ In a gem from Phigaleia we have two upright figures dressed in the skins and heads of horses.⁴⁹ Images probably representing the mother goddess Cybele in the form of a horse's head were found by Schliemann at Troy.⁵⁰ On an archaic vase from Rhodes, Medusa is depicted with the body of a woman and the head of a horse.⁵¹

In the same way, to account for the horns which appear in so many variants of the Midas cycle, we have the countless images in the form of terra-cotta cows found at Tiryns and Mycenae, as well as cows' heads of gold, women with cow's horn-like, crescent-shaped projections

⁴⁵ Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, pp. 174 *et seq.*; Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena to Greek Religion*, p. 537.

⁴⁶ A. B. Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 81 *et seq.*

⁴⁷ Schüchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, p. 292.

⁴⁸ A. B. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 138; cf. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. iii., pp. 36 *et seq.*

⁵⁰ *Troy and its Remains*, p. 353.

⁵¹ Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. iv., pp. 407 *et seq.*, who gives references to similar cult images.

from the breast, which Schliemann identified with the cult of Hera Boopis.⁶²

It is difficult to say whether these animal cults were indigenous or imported. We know that both the horse and ass were regarded as sacred animals by the Semites,⁶³ and they may have come from that region into Asia Minor. On the other hand, the facts collected by Mr. Cook indicate the existence of an Ægean cult of the ass regarded as a musician, a servant of the harvest-gods with phallic aptitudes, and representing the waters of the underworld.⁶⁴ In this last attribute the frequent occurrence of the well in connection with the Midas tales is significant.

The worship of the horse, again, passed into the religion of Greece in the strange cult of the horse-headed Demeter, which has been fully illustrated by Professor Frazer and Mr. Farnell,⁶⁵ the latter refusing to explain it by totemism or by any known Greek symbolism of the underworld or of vegetation, and preferring to suppose that Demeter Erinys or Medusa merely took over from Poseidon, the horse-god, an equine form in certain local legends and cults, "this form being necessary that they might become the mothers of his horse-progeny." This view, even if it be accepted, does not invalidate the present theory.

Lastly, it must be remembered that there is some reason to believe that this ass cult may have survived in the Mediterranean down to early Christian times. As evidence of this we have the title *Asinari* applied as a reproach to the early Christians; Tertullian's angry expostulation,—*som-*

⁶² *Tiryns*, p. 165. But this view is opposed by Farnell, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 16.

⁶³ Robertson Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 468 *et seq.*, 293; *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, pp. 208 *et seq.*

⁶⁴ A. B. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁶⁵ *Pantanius*, vol. iv., pp. 407 *et seq.*; *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. iii., pp. 50 *et seq.*

niastis caput asininum esse Deum nostrum; ⁵⁶ and the famous *graffito*, now deposited in the library of the Collegio Romano in Rome, which is usually supposed to represent our Lord with the head of an ass, by some regarded as a mere vulgar caricature directed against a Christian of the second century, but possibly embalming a reminiscence of some cult such as we have been discussing. ⁵⁷

It is well known that priest-dynasts were a widely spread feature of the primitive social and religious life of Asia Minor, ⁵⁸ and we may be certain that the Phrygian princes were priest-kings, like those of the Semites. They may well have been in the habit of wearing the skins of sacrificed or sacred animals to indicate communion with the deity; and such theriomorphic cults were common in that region,—Amathus represented in bestial form, with huge ears, a pair of stumpy horns on the top of the head, and a lion skin knotted round him; the deity at Ibreez, his cap adorned with several pairs of horns; the lion-god at Boghaz-keui. ⁵⁹ "We may take it as probable," says Professor Frazer, "that the oriental deities who are represented standing or sitting in human form on the backs of lions and other animals were originally indistinguishable from the beasts, and that the complete separation of the bestial from the human or divine shape was a consequence of that growth of knowledge and of power which led man in time to respect himself more and the brutes less." ⁶⁰

To sum up the suggestions which I have made in this paper,—the story of Midas and his ass's ears seems, from the geographical provenience of the variants, to

⁵⁶ *Apologet.*, cxvi.

⁵⁷ W. Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. i., p. 149; Landiani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, p. 122; Fattar, *Life of Christ in Art*, p. 94.

⁵⁸ Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 109 note, pp. 12 *et seq.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 91, 94, 103, 107.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

have started from the region of the eastern Ægean. It was based on the well-known fact that some people are constitutionally unable to keep a secret,—that they even suffer physically from this enforced reticence, and that this peculiarity would naturally be accentuated in the case of a notoriously garrulous person like a barber. It was then connected with a half-forgotten and misunderstood form of ritual which prevailed throughout Asia Minor and the area subject to Mycenæan culture.

If there be any force in these suggestions, the study of this cycle of tales is another indication of the importance of folklore research in connection with primitive thought and ritual.

W. CROOKE.

COLLECTANEA.

A FOLKLORE SURVEY OF COUNTY CLARE (*continued from p. 60*).

XII. *Lucky and Unlucky Deeds.*

It is unlucky to see the new moon through glass; to throw dust or slops out of a house on New Year's Day, as you throw away with them all the good luck of the year; to throw dust or slops towards a neighbouring "fort";¹ to see one magpie, or a "weazel" (stoat), without saluting it by bowing or taking off your hat; to go out of a house where they are churning without "putting your hand to the churn," *i.e.* giving a few strokes with the churn "dash," so that you will not "take" the butter; and to take fire out of a house,—so that, if you light a pipe indoors, it should be smoked out before leaving. Iron and pins,—except crooked pins with the points towards you,—should be picked up, and the first thrown over the left shoulder. Rub your hand on wood if it itches or after a boastful speech or speaking too confidently of the future; in east Clare you touch wood twice, with the phrase, "Good word (*or* time) be it spoken," after an imprudent expression.² You should bow to the new moon. Turn your money for luck after seeing the new moon. On visiting a friend in a new house, you should give some present, however small. In east Clare some persons are careful to throw a hen or other fowl that has died of disease over the fence on to their neighbour's land, to remove the ill-luck from their own poultry.³ Others will not wash eggs offered for sale, as it stops

¹ So Dr. Macnamara and others.

² "Scratch it in wood, and it will come good," says a rhyme.

³ Practised near Tulla, and resulting in some cases in great ill-will.

the hens from laying more; this is held at least near Tulla and Sixmilebridge, but seems dying out near the former place.

XIII. *Omens, Dreams, and Divination.*

Omens.—It is an unlucky sign to meet "a stranger woman with red hair," or a hare, or a fox, when setting out in the morning. A poem by Andrew MacCurtin, as already noted,⁴ condoles with Father MacDonnell, a Franciscan living in Corcomroe, for the loss of his horse, and suggests that the *garran* fell a victim to the evil eye or to the look of a red-haired woman. A sign much feared in north-east Clare is the flying of a bat into one's face, which forebodes sickness. A robin, a stray cat, or a cricket coming into a house is lucky, but some regard the last as a sign of death,—though this belief is rare and perhaps imported, for in Dublin "the ever-faithful cricket" is also a death omen. If the right ear tingles some one is praising you, and if the left someone is abusing you. If the right hand itches you will lose money, and if the left you will receive it, providing you rub or scratch it on wood. Any one of these omens from itching is good after sunset, and rubbing the right hand on wood saves the situation or the money in either case. To get dirt on one is most lucky,—*"the dirtier the better."* To stumble upstairs, and to be looked at by a cat after it has washed its face, are signs of approaching marriage.

Dreams.—It is most unlucky to dream of church or clergy, and, above all, of the sacraments. To dream of a cat foretells an enemy; of a dog, a friend; of crows or filth, riches and plenty; of silver, disappointment; and of dirty or stormy water, trouble. Cheap dream books have corrupted local belief so much that it is now almost impossible to separate the older dream lore.

Divination.—I have not found many methods of foretelling the future, but the following were of such common knowledge that I need cite no single authorities. On All Hallows Eve, I remember, before 1870, a blindfolded person would touch one of several saucers in which were respectively earth, water, salt, a bean, etc., symbolising death, emigration, luck, marriage, etc., in

⁴Vol. xxi., p. 196.

the ensuing year. In the same way a forecast was given by a ring, coin, bean, or red rag in the cake on the same day, and by a ring in the pancakes on Shrove Tuesday. On the former day also lead was melted and poured through a key handle into water for fortune-telling. The key of a bachelor's house or room and a piece of wedding-cake put under a girl's pillow produced a prophetic dream in which she might see her future husband or lover. A slug or snail put under a saucer on a slate or cabbage leaf, sprinkled with turf ashes or flour, traced the future lover's initials, as did a long apple or orange peel waved thrice round the head and then thrown down. "Cup-tossing" (*i.e.* cup-turning with tea leaves) was used, unsuccessfully, by a lady in 1879 to find out the future purchaser of her family's demesne. Wandering beggar-women used cup-tossing for the fortunes of both maids and mistresses, and some gained much repute. One of these crones showed a sister of mine a rearing horse in the tea leaves, and foretold that her client was about to have a very narrow escape from death on the hunting field that day, which came true. Biddy Erly, a famous white witch living between Bodyke and Feakle in the middle of last century, used to foretell the death or recovery of her patients by a shamrock leaf in some fluid in a bottle; if it rose they recovered, but if it sank they died, and her prophecies were received with such undoubting faith that it is likely that they worked sometimes their own fulfilments. I heard that by a Protestant servant a key was shut and tied up in a Bible, its wards on Ruth's reply when Naomi asked her to return from her, the book being then swung and the representative of Boaz surmised from the direction in which it pointed; but this may not have been true Clare folklore. Among the country folk crystal-gazing is unknown, and palmistry little, if at all, in use, but the more primitive methods have not been put down by increase of education, and the warning is still necessary of the quatrain cited in 1280, according to the *Cathreim Theirhealbaigh*, by King Torlough mór O'Brien, as he set out to fight in this county,—*"Attempt ye not the prediction of the lips; neither in curved (new) moon nor in presage of soothsayer put your trust."*

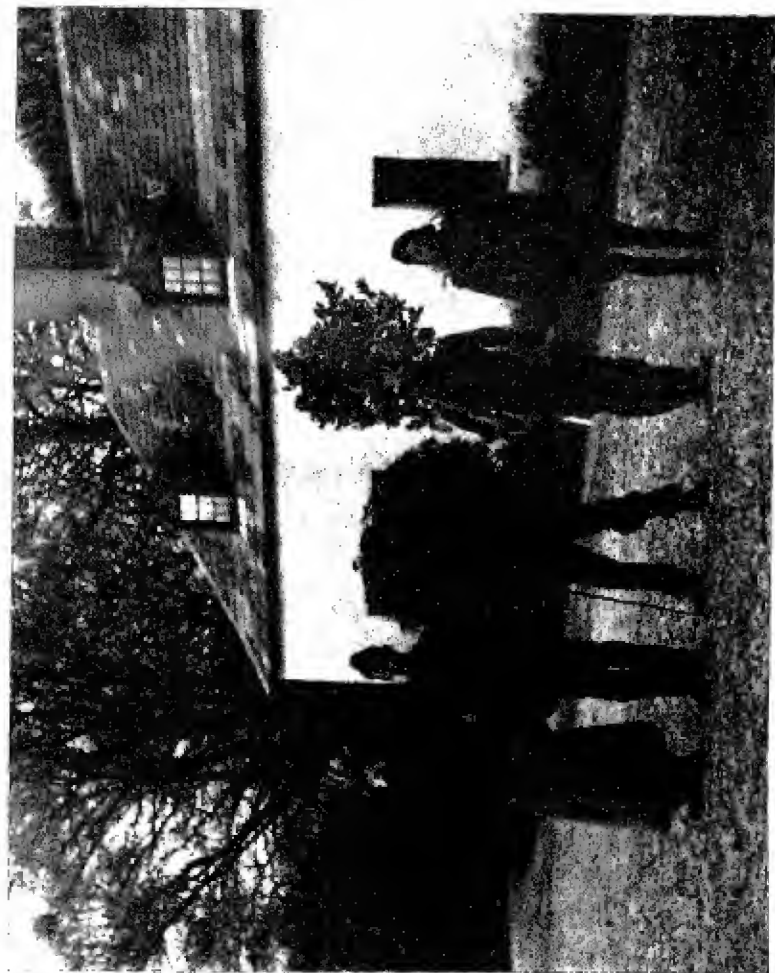
XIV. *Calendar Customs.*

Most of these customs are so widely spread as to require only brief notice, and were noted, before 1816, by the Rev. James Grahame, the curate of Kilrush. They comprise the eating of pancakes on Shrove Tuesday and of eggs at Easter; playing tricks and "fooling" on April 1st; setting May bushes before houses on Old May Day; lighting bonfires on Midsummer Eve, dancing round them, and driving cattle through them; beginning hunting on Michaelmas Day; Hallowe'en practices on October 31st; midnight processions, with music, on certain nights in the week before Christmas, (which had just been discontinued in 1816); and mummers, wren boys, and bull-baiting on St. Stephen's Day.⁵ The May bush died out, I believe, during the dark years of the Great Famine; I never heard of any limit, other than the clearance of the crops, for beginning hunting; but, except the bull-baiting and the waits, all the rest still exist.

It is well to have to record the dying out of the custom of killing the wren on St. Stephen's Day, even if it springs from laziness rather than from humanity. "Who cares for the birds but God!" was once retorted when I "put in a word for" the wren. There is probably a very old prejudice against it, for the "droleen" stood confessed as a "little druid" among birds, and the "druid" of Irish tradition was not the majestic white-robed priest of the oak grove, but a sorcerer who injured meanly by spells, a foe of God and of His servants, but a contemptible and impotent one. This feeling was expressed in the contemptuous term *shandruie* ("old druid") for a worthless old man, in use in my boyhood. How far the wren rites have orthodox ritual or etiquette is doubtful. Formerly the youth of a whole district combined as wren boys, but now they go in bands of from two to six,⁶ and the wren bush is often a mere branch with a few rags and no wren. A structure of evergreens, in general design like a *crux ansata*, covered with streamers and with the dead bird hung

⁵ Mason's *Parochial Survey* (1816), vol. ii.

⁶ See Plate IX., from a photograph taken on December 26th, 1910, by Mrs. O'Callaghan Westropp of Coolreagh.



CLARE WREN BOYS.

up or in a sort of cage,⁷ was till lately carried around. There is still sometimes to be found tolerable dancing and singing, as a break in the weary succession of small begging parties, shuffling and playing stupid buffoonery. The verses usually begin :—

“ The wren, the wren, the king of all birds,
On Stephen's Day was caught in the furze.”

but the next lines are greatly varied :—

“ Although he is little, his family is great,
And (*or So*) I pray you all ladies (*or good Christians*) to give him a treat.”

I noted the following haunting lines on Stephen's Day in 1909 :—

“ Put your hand in your pocket and take out your purse
And give us some money to bury the wren.”

Equally melodious were lines in vogue some thirty years ago :—

“ We broke his bones with sticks and stones,
And give us some money to get us a drink.”

There was another form, evidently from an “artificial” source, heard by my elder brothers about Carnelly, perhaps sixty years ago or more :—

“ Landlady, Landlady, give us some cheer,
Landlady, Landlady, give us some beer.
If you give us of the best,
We'll pray your soul in Heaven may rest.
If you give us of the worse,
We'll pray it will (*or may*) be quite the reverse.”

It was generally believed that St. Stephen had hid in a cave, and that his retreat had been betrayed to his enemies by the wren. Mummers are now reappearing, after a long lapse of time, among the wren boys.

Another practice which my predecessors often saw before the Famine was the carrying of a sort of scarecrow figure, to represent St. Brigit, by women in August about the Clare Castle district. St. Brigit's rites in some places take place on Lady Day (August 15th).

Killing an animal, or a goose, at Martinmas and a goose at Michaelmas are of recent occurrence. On St. John's Eve I have, as a child, leaped over or passed between fires, and been told of cattle being forced to do the same. About 1895 very few bonfires were lighted, and the custom appeared likely to expire, but of late the

⁷ A somewhat similar wren's cage has been procured for the National Museum, Dublin.

fires have been more numerous. Formerly bones were saved up to crackle as they burnt in the fires, and even when this ceased the pronunciation "bone-fire" continued. Magical rites connected with milk and butter were, very recently, performed secretly at wells on May Eve (April 30th) as described later.

Other annual observances were sports which first included, and then lapsed into, mere races. The *iraghts*, or gatherings, at the mound and inauguration place of Moy Eir (Magh Adhair) lasted down to 1838, and were still very faintly remembered by old people in 1890 as having died out in the Famine years, with so much of the social brightness of the people. I may note that this place,—the reputed seat of Adhar, a Firbolg prince, about the beginning of our era,—became the place of inauguration of the native princes of Thomond from before 877, and continued so down, at least, to 1570. The name Magh Adhair (phonetically Moy Eir) at first covered the whole central plain of east Clare, but steadily shrank to that of a small tribal territory, and then, in 1584 and 1655, to the two townlands of Corbally and Toonagh (Tuanagh-moyree). By 1838 it was attached only to two fields,—“Moyross, or Moyree, parks,”—in the former, and is now confined to a single field, “Moyars Park,” and to the “rath” or mound in Toonagh, across the brook. Notices of the inaugurations are numerous from 1275 to 1311, and occur sporadically from 877 onwards. Other and less famous gatherings were at Creganenagh (“Fair or Assembly Crag”)⁸ on the bare hill over Termon in the Burren, and at a field in Caherminaun near Kilfenora. The latter probably gave the name Ballykinvarga, (Baile cinn-mbarghaidh in 1380), *i.e.* “head of the market,” to the adjacent townland, and may have been connected with the remarkable ring wall, girt with a wide abattis of pillar stones, not far distant. Some forgotten assembly is commemorated at Eanty (“Fairs” or “gatherings”) in the east of Burren. Other assemblages will be dealt with later under XVI. *Patterns*.

XV. *Wells and Well Customs.*

Hesitation in questioning poor people too closely about their religious feelings and rites has, I fear, rendered my notes on this

⁸ Aenach was not merely a fair, but an assembly for merrymaking, consultation, etc.

important subject somewhat bald. The pagan Irish, of course, revered wells, and the famous "King of the Waters" in Mayo was connected with St. Patrick by early biographers.⁹ With the usual wise tactfulness of the ancient Irish missionaries all that was harmless was adopted into the new religion, and the wells lost none of their old observances and honour. The dedications of the Clare wells form a most valuable record, for, even when the founder of the church was forgotten, or a new patron invoked, the well usually kept the name of the ancient local saint. Unfortunately since about 1850 names of wells have been locally forgotten, and a re-dedication, often to St. Joseph, is common. Strange to say, the noteworthy saints Enda and Luchtighern are forgotten at the wells at their churches. The early mediæval life of St. Senan, (Colgan, *Vita S.S.*, March), says that, when that saint was born at Magh Lacha, Moylough, there was no water at hand to baptize him,—a rare thing in County Clare,—so he told his mother to pull up three rushes, and a spring welled out. The tale was still told in 1816.¹⁰ The life of St. Mochulleus (Mochuille or Mochulla), about 1141 tells us how that early seventh-century saint struck a rock near a lake to the north of Tulla and three streams broke out. The well dedicated to him to the east of Loch Graney is evidently intended, and *two* streams still flow from it down the hillside. Some have supposed the wells of Tobereendowny, ("well of the King of the Sabbath," or, as suggested by Prof. Macalister and others, "of the world"),—were dedicated to a pre-Christian deity. Tobereevul is dedicated to Aibhill.¹¹ The flooded dolmen, Tobergrania, is named from Finn's fugitive spouse, "Granny's bed" occurring also as a dolmen name in Clare. Among Christian dedications we have Tobercruhnorindowan (of "the creator of the world") at Killard, Tober Isa (of "Jesus"), and Tobernacrohynaevae (*i.e.* Tobar-na-croiche-naoimh, of "the Holy Cross"). To the Virgin are dedicated wells at Drimelihy-Westby, Kilmacduan, and Killadysert. Of non-local saints,—usually, it is probable, late dedications,—we find St. John has

⁹ *E.g.*, in the *Tripartite Life*, ed. W. Stokes, among the early "annotations" of Tirechan.

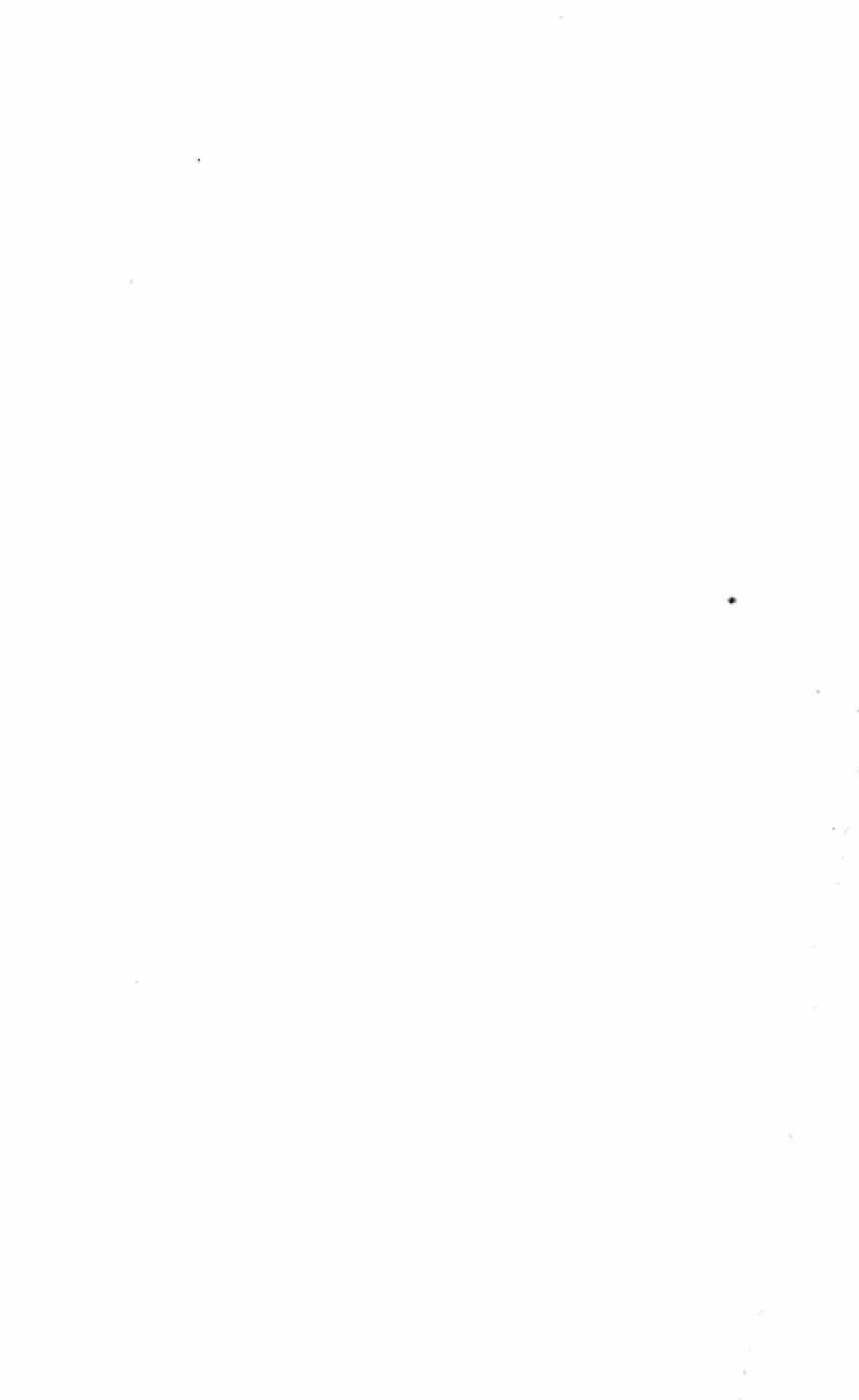
¹⁰ Mason's *Parochial Survey*, vol. ii., under Kiltrush Parish.

¹¹ Cf. vol. xxi., p. 186.

the wells of Killone and Tromra, St. Michael wells at Kilbreacan, Cappagh (Bunratty) and the Kilmihihs, St. Augustine at Kilshanny and Gallynagry, St. Bartholomew at Toberpartholaun in Rath (Inchiquin), and St. Martin at Moyarta, Ballynecally, and Lemaneagh. All the dedications to St. Joseph are modern. St. Patrick did not enter Clare, but has wells at Correen (Kilnaboy), Clooney (Bunratty Barony), and Rossalia. The following list of wells dedicated to local saints may be useful for reference. *Brecan* (c. 480) has wells at Noughaval near Clare Castle (Kilbreacan), Doora, and Clooney (Bunratty); *Brendan* (date doubtful), at Kilmoon and Farighy (Moyarta); *Brigid*, (probably the Abbess of Feenish Island, c. 550), Kiltanon, Cappaseaun, Finnor, and Coney Island; *Caimín* (d. 653), Iniscaltra and Moynoe; *Caritan* (c. 550), Kilcredaun in Kilballyowen, Kilcredaun near O'Brien's Bridge, and Kilcredaunadober near Bunratty; *Carrol* (doubtful), Kilcarrol, where a wooden image of him existed in 1816; *Colan* of Tomgraney (d. 552), to the west of that village; *Colman mac Duach* of Kilmaeduach (c. 630), Kinallia, Oughtmama (where "the three Colmans" probably originate in a confusion of texts), Teernea, Lough George, and Crusheen; *Columba* of Iona (d. 597), Crumlin and Glen Columbcille; *Cornan* (unknown), Kilcornan and Tobercornan in Gleninagh; *Croine* (unknown), Kilcrony and Lisrona in Moyarta; *Cronan* (probably of Tomgraney, c. 505), Inchicronan, Termoncronan, Killokennedy, and Corrakyle; *Dioma*, Kildimo; *Enda* (c. 480), Killeany; *Fachtan* (doubtful), Kilfenora; *Flannan* (c. 680), Killaloe; *Imer* (unknown), Killimer; *Inghean Baoith* (c. 630), Kilnaboy, Commons, Glenseeade, Inakerstown, Killavella, Dulick (Templemaley), Kiltacky, Kilshanny, Aglish, Moy-Ibrickan, Magowna, Ballycoree, Shalee (two), Cullaun, Castletown (Spansil Hill), Dromumna, and Quin; *Kirin* (not Kieran), Kilkierin (locally Kilkereen); *Lachtin*, Kilnamona, Kilfarboy, and Stacpoole Bridge near Miltown Malbay; *Lonan* (c. 580), Killaspuglonane and Derrynavahagh (Kilmoon); *Luchtighern* (c. 550), Tomfinlough and, probably, Moy Ibrickan; *Macreehy* (c. 580), Kilmacreehy, Kilmanaheen, and Inagh; *Mainchin* (perhaps "St. Munchin," patron of Limerick), Kilmanaheen; *Mochonna* (unknown), Feakle and Moynoe; *Mochulla* (c. 620), Tulla, Templemoculla (Clonlara), Lough Graney, Lough



ST. SENAN'S TREE WITH RAG OFFERINGS, KILTINANLEA.



Breeda, Miltown, Kilgorey, Fortanne, Broadford, Trough, Ralahine, Cragg, Lahardan, and Cappavilla, with perhaps, (if not of St. Molocus, c. 550), Moylough, Scattery, and Carrigaholt; *Molua* (c. 620), Killaloe; *Onchu*, Killonaghan; *Sanctan*, Dromline; *Sorebann*, Clondegad and Kilmaley; *Senan* (d. 552), Iniscatha, Moylough, Iniscaeragh (Mutton Island), Kilclogher, Carrow (Kilmaduan), Erribul (Kilfiddan), Kilshanny, Killaneena, Cooraclare, Kilcredaun, and Drim (Quin); *Tola* (c. 635), Dysert O'Dea and Kiltola; and *Voydan* or *Braighdean* (unknown), Kilvoydan, Corofin, and Kilraughtis.

Healing Powers.—The *Ordnance Survey Letters*¹² mention the following:—Gleninagh well, which has a fifteenth-century well-house or “turry,” cured sore eyes; Tober Cholmain, above Oughtmama churches, sufferers from “the pearl,” the films falling off the eyes at the third washing; St. Maccreehy’s well, near Liscannor, eye troubles, which were also cured by St. Inghean Baoith’s well near Kilshanny (even then nearly deserted), Tobermoghna near Clooney (Corcomroe), St. Senan’s well on the cliffs south-west from Kilkee, Kilcrony well near Carrigaholt, Tobercuan in Kiltrellig near Loop Head, Tobershenan in Moyfadda, the Virgin’s well at Templemaley, and Tober Isa at Corlack Glebe (Bunratty). Tobernatasha, (“well of the relic” or, as some say, “spectre”), in Kilmaley was shaped like a coffin, and delicate children used to be laid on their backs in it.¹³ The black mud which gave its name to Toberduff cured sore eyes and swelled limbs. So did Senan’s well at Kilkee; horrible to tell, the devotees,—down to 1875, at least, when a washing-tank was made outside the well-house,—used to wash in this, the only supply of drinking-water for the then fashionable watering-place. Toberlachtin at Kilnemona cured several diseases, its “day” being March 19th. Eyes were also healed by the well south from Newmarket-on-Fergus, and by the wetted moss of St. Mochulla’s well near Tulla (the moss being put back to complete the cure). The latter well is said to have avenged itself, about 1780, on its landlord, who had dug away part of its enclosure, by rendering

¹² Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Mss. 14B 23, 24, (Co. Clare), vols. i. and ii.

¹³ *Ordnance Survey Letters*, (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 183.

his son and daughter imbecile. The son survived till 1853, and no other members of the family were affected after the well was restored.¹⁴ The Newmarket well indignantly removed itself to its present site when "a dirty woman washed her feet in it," and it also gave her the complaint it usually cured. So, also, when the holy well above Oughtmama¹⁵ was offended, it closed, and broke out lower down the hillside, as the Sruhaunanaeve or "saints' stream," and the water of Killone well refused to boil. The Cunninghams, living near it, spoilt their cooking by using its water, though "they knew it would not boil." John Windele tells of other resentful wells in Cork and Kerry; for example, the well at Labba Molagga (Cork) ran dry when a woman washed her clothes in it, and at Maunaholtora the well near a dolmen ran dry, and its water refused to boil.¹⁶ The Irish "Nennius" tells a story of ducks that could not be boiled because the water would not get hot while they were in it. In the last century a woman who drew water from a well and saw it did not boil found a fish in it. She took the fish back to the well, and the water then boiled without any difficulty. The mud of the dolmen or "well" of Tobergrania at Ballycroum cured sore or short-sighted eyes, and that of the bullaun or basin at Kiltinanlea church near Clonlara did the same. The well of St. Michael at Kilmihil was once powerful. Father Anthony Bruodin, a Franciscan and author of a history of his order¹⁷ full of curious particulars about Clare before 1640, tells how "Lady" Mariana, wife of Thomas MacGorman, of the author's kinsfolk, had in 1632 long suffered from gout. The Archangel appeared to her in a dream, and bade her go to his church and dig where she should see rushes growing near it. Aided by her son and Dermot O'Quaely, the parish priest of Kilmihil, she found the well and was cured. Many other persons got similar relief, but there seems no tradition of any cures by it preserved among the people of Kilmihil.

Offerings.—It is right, on visiting a well, to make offerings of

¹⁴ So Mrs. Connors at Fortanne.

¹⁵ Pronounced Ooght-māw-mā. It is a weird spot with three ancient churches in a grassy basin on the flank of a terraced hill of bare grey limestone.

¹⁶ Windele, *Mss. Royal Irish Academy*; Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, vol. iii., pp. 765-9.

¹⁷ *Propugnaculum Catholica Fidei*, 1665.

small objects, only of value as homage. Rag offerings are naturally most frequent where there is a "blessed bush" at the well, but they are frequently hung on a bramble, or even, on the Atlantic coast, kept in place by stones. Rags abounded, with other offerings, at Gleninagh, at least till 1899, being tied to the twigs of an old elder bush. They were hung in quantities on the stunted old hawthorn at Oughtmāma well, and were found at Tobersraheen, at Aglish graveyard in Ogonello, and on the large fallen hawthorn near the basin at Kiltinanlea. They are often accompanied by rosaries, religious medals, necklaces and ribbons, broken or whole plaster and china figures and vessels, and glass, buttons, pins, and nails. Such objects are abundant at many wells, such as the little rock well in Glensleade between the largest Berneens dolmen and the road, Killone altar, St. Senan's well near Kiltinanlea (Plate XI.), Fortanne, Kilseily, St. Lachtin's well near Milltown Malbay, Kilcredaun, and a well of St. Inghean Baoith (stopped by a too zealous Protestant, but recently reopened and dedicated to St. Joseph) near Inchiquin lake. The almost disused dolmen-well of Tobergranua had in 1893 two rude crosses of laths tied together, buttons, bottles, glass, crockery, and a coin.¹⁸ In 1889 Kilfarboy well near Milltown was frequented on Sundays and Thursdays by sick persons, and abounded in such offerings as bits of leather, crockery, and blacking pots. (I am not certain whether this note refers to St. Lachtin's well or to one near Kilfarboy church.) China and pebbles have been offered at Kilcredaun in a cleft beside the Shannon estuary, and pebbles placed in the "Font" of Doughnambragher in central Clare.¹⁹

THOS. J. WESTORFF.

(To be continued.)

A FEW NORWEGIAN PROVERBS.

The following group of Norwegian proverbs has been selected by my good friend Captain Einar Sagen, of the Fifth Regiment

¹⁸ Cf. view of well and its offerings, *Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy*, Ser. iii., vol. iv., p. 87.

¹⁹ See Plate iv., *ant.*, p. 54.

of the Norwegian army. They come from various parts of the country, and are mainly typical of farm-life. They were best translated into Lowland Scots, but the following plain English may suffice. The burning question in Norway during the past few years has been the relative value of the literary language and what is called *Landsmaal*, or country speech. The former is practically Danish, and does not represent the speech of the people. *Landsmaal* as recognised by the authorities is an attempt to preserve in a uniform speech the innumerable excellencies of word and phrase which have come down into modern dialects from Old Norse. It is one remove from any one dialect, but lies very close to all. It partakes of the pliable and practical nature of Old Norse. It is infinitely richer in resource than the literary language, which ekes out its poverty with foreign words and phrases in a very ungainly manner.

The *Landsmaal* party is strong in the land, though bitterly opposed by the professional classes, especially of Kristiania. More and more books are being published in *Landsmaal*, and the leader of the party is Arne Garborg, the poet, whose works, especially *Haugtussa*, give an intensely characteristic representation of Norwegian country life.

Captain Sagen himself is an ardent worker in the cause. His special aim hitherto has been the introduction of *Landsmaal* into army orders, in place of the bombast which is so often quite unintelligible to the man in the ranks. He has issued a Dictionary of military phrases. He speaks and writes only *Landsmaal*, on principle, and it may be interesting to quote from his letter to me covering this list of proverbs.

"De had meg senda nokre ordtöki. Eg sender her ei liti samling. Det er korkje av dei beste eller av dei klenaste. Men det finst daa inkje so faa sanningar, og mykje morosamt er det og so. Skrifti mi er desvarre inkje god aa lesa. Men eg vonar like vel De skynar det meste. Det maa vist finnast i tusöndtal av slike ordtöki her i landet. Men dei er ingen stad samla alle saman. Det skulde vera forvitneleg aa sjaa ei samling av vaar beste *proverör*. Det ligg mykje livsvisdom og livsröynsla göymt i deim. Men arbeidet med norsk maal, norske erveiminne, norsk saga, norske ordtöki, norske fornleivder, er enno herre i sin barndom. Her er enno vidsveimte vidder aa dyrkja. Eg skulde ynskja De kunde finna eit og annat godt korn mellom desse ordtöki."

"You asked me to send some proverbs. I send herewith a little collection.

They are neither of the best nor of the poorest. Still they contain not a few truths, and they are very amusing too. My writing is not easy to read, I am sorry to say. But all the same I hope you will understand the greater part. There must be thousands of such proverbs here in the land. But they have never been collected anywhere. It would be interesting to see a collection of our best proverbs. Much life-wisdom and life-experience lie hidden in them. But work on Norse speech, folklore, stories, proverbs, and antiquities is still in its infancy. Here are still vast tracts to open up. I could hope that you might find one and-another true grain among these proverbs."

1. Den som har hund, han slepp á göya sjölv.
He who has a dog, need not bark himself.
2. Nár husbonden gjeng or högsetet, set katten sig uppi.
When the master leaves the high seat, up jumps the cat.
3. Husmanns hage kann og bera blomar.
A cottager's garden also can bear flowers.
4. Det er ingen so hög, han ei má töygja seg.
Og ingen so lág, han ei má böygja seg.
There is no one so tall that he has not to stretch himself,
and no one so small that he has not to bend.
5. Höling er vel höyrande men lite göymande.
Flattery listens well, but remembers little.
6. Det er betre turr kaka enn inkje smaka.
Better is dry cake than having nothing to eat.
7. Ein kann vel vera kar um ein inkje segjer det sjölv.
One can be a brave fellow, even if one does not proclaim it.
8. Det er betre á föda ein katt enn mange myser.
It is better to feed one cat than many mice.
9. Det vil harde kilar til harde kubbar.
Hard wedges are needed for hard tree-stumps.
10. Ei kona og ein katt höyrer huset til.
A house needs a wife and a cat.
11. Det kostar á sitja fyre gjest og gangande mann.
It costs money to be obliged to receive guests constantly.
12. Kui gjeng aldri so langt, at rova ei fylgjer med.
A cow never goes so far that her tail does not follow.

13. Kui vil inkje høyra at høyet minker.
A cow will not hear that the hay is dwindling away.
14. Det vil mykje til á kveikja ein kald áre.
It is hard work to kindle fire on a cold hearth.
15. Máteleg kvilt er ingi tid spillt.
Rest in reason is not time lost.
16. Ein kann inkje baade ausa og ro.
One cannot both bale and row.
17. Ei fager brud treng lite skrud.
A fair bride needs little finery.
18. Ein skal bryggja so ein hev noko til á tyggja.
One must brew so that one has something to chew.
19. Ein stor buskap treng stort beite.
A large stock needs much pasture.
20. Ein kjem inkje djupare enn aat botnen.
One cannot fall deeper than to the bottom.
21. Det er ofte dygd i bur der ingen trur.
There is often virtue where no one would think it.
22. Ettetertanken er god men fyrertanken er betre.
Afterthought is good, but forethought is better.
23. Fatigmanns föring er altid lett.
Poor man's luggage is always light.
24. Der fanden inkje er sjölv, der hev han sveinarne sine.
Where the devil is not present himself, he has his young fellows.
25. Ein kjem ikkje paa fjellet med flat veg.
You can't climb a mountain by a level road.
26. Det er vondt aa fljuga vengjelaus.
It is hard to fly without wings.
27. Tri gonger flutt er som ein gong brennt.
Three times' removing is as bad as once burnt out.
28. Ein fær ikkje retta foten lenger enn felden rekk.
One must not stretch the foot further than the bed-covering (of skin) reaches.

29. Stor fugl tarv stort reiv.
A big bird needs a big prey.
30. Den som vil fylgja naar byren bles fær fylgja i androren med.
He who would follow when a fair wind blows must follow
in a head-wind (lit. take part in the against-rowing).
31. Det er betre aa vera fyre var enn etter snar.
It is better to be wary beforehand than smart after.
32. D'er logi som dömer, inkje domaren.
'Tis the law that judges, not the judge.
33. Ein gap treng god lukka.
A fool needs good luck.
34. Det skal vera gard millom gode grannar.
There must be a fence between good neighbours.
35. Det er beste gaava, som inkje ventar attergaava.
The best gifts are those which expect no return.
36. Geiti er ikkje god aa gjerda fyre (or inne).
A goat is not easy to fence in.
37. Di meir ein bannar geiti di meir trivst ho.
The more one curses a goat the more she thrives.
38. Kvardags gjest fær kvardags helsing.
A weekday guest gets a weekday greeting.
39. Det er ofte ei turr grein paa eit grønt tre.
There is often a withered branch on a green tree.
40. Den som lyfter hamaren for høgt, han slær skakt.
He who lifts the hammer too high, strikes too clumsily.
41. Heime er hunden djervaste.
The dog is boldest at home.
42. Det er dá heilt holamillom.
Anyhow, it is all right between the holes [of an old garment].
43. Helgarplagg vert ei gong kvardagsplagg.
Holiday wear one day becomes weekday wear.

44. Hjelp er alltid god so nær som i grautarfatet.
Help is always good, except in the porridge-dish.
45. Mange hogg fella store trær.
Many blows fell great trees.
46. Naar horni er av er det for seint á stanga.
When the horns are off, it is too late to butt.
47. Hugen dreg halve lasset.
Mood draws half the load.
48. Naar hugen er god er foten lett.
When the spirits are good, the step is light.
49. Det kann ingen sin lagnad fly.
No one can escape his fate.
50. Eitt lamb er liten buskap.
One lamb makes a small flock.
51. Ein leikar so lenge med katten, at ein fær kjenne klørne.
One plays with the cat until one feels the claws.
52. Det er lite liv i den som döyr av store ord.
There is little life in him who dies of big words.
53. Ein fær inkje skera ljøset so hardt at det sloknar.
One must not trim the light so closely that it goes out.
54. Den som skal ljuga lyt hava godt minne.
He who would lie must have a good memory.
55. Ein fær log fylgja eller land fly.
One must follow the laws or flee the land.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

FIFTY HAUSA FOLK-TALES¹ (*continued*).

37. *The Origin of the Crow.* (A.)

A certain King was always saying to his son (that he) was not his own son. As for the son he was like him. He (King) said,—

¹ *Ante*, p. 70, l. 10, for draughts read *durra* (a well-known game).

"Let him be taken outside the town and killed. He is a bastard." As for the boy (he had for) his friend the son of the Minister.² When the people of the town had gone to the bush, they cut off (one of) his hands and shewed (it) to the King, and said they had killed him. A female leper came and found the boy lying down, (and said),—"Who is this son of Adam?" She returned home and drew some water and fetched (it), and washed (the stump of) the hand, which had been cut off. Then she licked (it), and it became as before. She sent him in front, and they went home. He grew in knowledge and in strength, and became old enough to have a house of his own. She made a house for him (to live in) himself, and he married the daughter of an Ant. He found some traders, and got them to go to his father. Now it was said to him,—"See he (the son) has married the Ant's daughter." The father sent to him, and said, (it was) not the Ant's daughter but the daughter of the King of the Thicket (whom) he should have married. He began to cry, and cry, until the leper came to him and asked him, and said,—"What has happened to you?" He said,—"My father says I must marry the daughter of the King of the Thicket." She said,—"Is that all that has happened to make you cry?" She took (some) money,³ and went to the thicket to arrange the marriage. A woman was brought. He sent to his father, and said,—"Lo, he had married the daughter of the King of the Thicket also." Then he (father) said,—"It is not the daughter of the King of the Thicket he should have married, but the daughter of the King of the Water." Then the boy began to cry. So the leper said,—"Son of the house of my master, whatever troubles you? Tell me." He told her. She went into the water, and found the King of the Water, and said,—"I have come to visit you (am your guest). I hear (that) you have some daughters. I want one. I have a son."⁴ He called his daughters together, and said,—"Choose the one who seems best to you." She chose (one). They went home together. She married them. He went and sent to his father, and said he had

² The order of precedence of the officials varies in different towns. See Robinson's dictionary.

³ Marriage is of course by a modified form of purchase.

⁴ By adoption.

married. Then the father said,—“It (should) not (have been) the daughter of the King of the Water, but the daughter of the King of the Heavens.” The boy commenced crying. He kept on crying until the leper came, and said,—“What has he done to you?” He said,—“My father says I must marry the daughter of the King of the Heavens.” She said,—“Who will take me up there?” (who will mount to me). The Wild Cat said,—“Catch hold of my tail, and I will (that I may) take you to the Heavens.” She ascended, and found the King of the Heavens. She said,—“I have come to (see) you. I have a son. I heard that you had marriageable daughters.” He assembled them, and said,—“Come and choose.” They were indeed fifty. She took the eldest, the heiress of the house. The King said,—“Count out your money, and take her.” They came to the house, and they were married. The boy sent the news to his father. He said,—“(It should) not (have been) the daughter of the King of the Heavens, but the daughter of the King of Agaddas.”⁵ The leper went to the King of Agaddas, and said,—“I have a son at home. Give me your daughter (for him).” He said,—“I shall not give you the girl until I have seen your son.” She went and brought the son. He (King of Agaddas) said,—“Very well. Put them in a strong room for a fortnight. If he does not eat any corn, he will be her husband.” They entered the room. The door was shut on them, and locked. Every night the boy’s mother used to bring him food and drinking-water. The girl did not know. She (leper) used to enter softly and rouse him. When he had eaten and drunk, she would take away the calabash. They reached the last day of their confinement, (when) she (girl) said,—“I notice the smell of corn.” He said,—“Where would I get it? It is kola nut.” When night came, she said,—“To-day I shall lie in front, close to the door.” The leper entered and roused her. She thought it was her son. She got up, and plunged her hand into the soup. She flicked her hand against the wall. She did not see the leper, and said,—“You are eating corn.” He said,—“Where could I get (any) in this town?” He did not know the leper had roused her. She said,—“To-morrow you will die, you will be killed.” He said,—“Oh, all right, kill me, (but) where

⁵ Agaddas or Agadez is the capital of Air (Asben).

could I get (any), Gimbia?" They went to sleep. The leper went to the other (one) side, and roused her son, and he ate the food. She went and returned (to her) house, and ground up (some) kolas, and brought a lot of the water.⁶ She returned and caught hold of the girl's hand, and poured (on it) kola water, (and) she washed the boy's hands. She went to the wall where the girl had flicked the soup, and poured kola water (there). When day broke the house was opened. She was saying,—“He has eaten corn. Open the door.” When the room had been opened and much kola water had been found on the wall, she (girl) saw (it), and said after all it was not corn but kola. (So) he was her husband. He took her, and they went to their house. So he sent the news to his father. When he heard he remained silent. Then he made an alliance with the pagans. They came and surrounded the son's city. The son was inside the house (when) he saw the pagans had surrounded the town. So he arose and found the Ant's daughter, and said,—“See, my father has come to make war on me” (brought me war). She said,—“Had you not better go to the daughter of the King of the Thicket?” So he went to the daughter of the King of the Thicket, and said,—“See, my father has come to make war on me, and I do not know what I shall do.” She said,—“Will you not go to the daughter of the King of the Heavens?” He went and knelt,⁷ and said,—“What shall I do now (to-day)? See, my father has come to make war.” She said,—“(Is it) your father who gave you being?” He said,—“Yes.” She said,—“Go to the daughter of the King of Agaddas, will you not?” He started and went. The daughter of the King of Agaddas was sitting in a chair. He said,—“Gimbia, may your life be prolonged.” He said,—“See, my father has come to make war on me. He has allied (himself) with the pagans.” She flicked the perspiration from her brow, and said,—“Conquer them, the useless pagans.” He said,—“But not my father and the son of the Minister.”⁸ They all died, all these

⁶ In which they were soaked.

⁷ He must have felt in a fix to have done this, for the opposite is usually the case.

⁸ The Sa(x)rikin Agaddas seems to have retired or died (as they conveniently do in tales), and the boy and his bride to have inherited the land.

people (pagans). He went and brought his father and his friend. He brought a robe, a cap, and a turban. He saluted his father, and gave (him them). He gave (some to) his friend also, a robe, a cap, and everything. He took his father to the door of the council chamber. He drew his sword, and asked the people, saying,—“If a man hates you, what is done with him?” They said,—“He should be killed.” He took his sword, and cut off the head of his father. Then the turban fell off, and rolled itself around the neck.⁹ It arose up (in the air), and became a Crow, and called,—“Da ! da ! da !” (son, son, son).

38. *The Woman and her strange Suitors.* (B.G.)

There was a certain widow who had no husband, and the first who came to seek her in marriage was (no one first came except) the Lizard. He was always coming and wanting to marry her. Then the Mouse heard the news. So he went to her, and said,—“As for you, may God curse you. Is there no one who wishes to marry you except the Lizard?” Then she said,—“What’s the matter with him” (what is to him)? Then the Mouse said,—“Oh, he is blind. He cannot see at nighttime.” Then he said,—“If you do not agree, (and say that he) is not blind, when he comes to-morrow, and when he is about to go home, keep him and say ‘Oh no, wait till after sunset.’” So the Lizard came, and they (were) talking, and talking, and talking (until) evening was almost come. When he saw the sun was about to set, he said,—“Iss, I must go home.” Then she said,—“Oh no, do wait (leave). In a little while you shall go.” So he waited. When the sun had set, she said,—“All right. You can go home.” So he said,—“Very well.” When he had gone outside, he began stumbling and groping. Before he had gone about twenty paces, it became dark. So he found a grassy (spot), and lay down (put himself there). So he slept there. In the early morning the woman said,—“Now let me go and follow his footprints. The Mouse said he was blind. If he be blind, he will not have reached home.” So she (started) walking, and walking, and walking, until she came and saw him lying down. Then she said,—“What has caused you to sleep

⁹ This accounts for the white breast.

here since yesterday?" Then he said,—“Iss, when I left you (my leaving with you), I was not feeling well” (my body was not well). Then she said,—“Oh indeed! The news that the Mouse told me is true. Do not ever come again to my house, Blind man.” As for the Mouse, she wanted him. Then the Rooster heard the news. So he came, and said,—“Oh, may God curse you, is there no one who will marry you except the Mouse, a thief who cannot go to the market?” Then she said,—“Oh, really, is he a thief?” Then he said,—“Well, if you doubt it, when to-morrow comes tell him to accompany you to the market.” So she said,—“Very well.” So the Mouse came, and they were talking, and talking, and talking, when she said,—“Now I want you to escort me to the market.” Then he said,—“Oh no, I, a Mouse, since my great-great-great-grandfather did not go to the market, shall I go?” Then she said,—“Oh, come, Mouse, you will not be seen.” She brought a small basket and poured out the guinea-corn¹⁰ in it, and said,—“You may get in here. No one will see you.” So she went, and when she had gone and reached the middle of the market, she opened (it). When she had opened it, the people of the market said,—“Oh, look at the Mouse, the thief. Kill him, kill him, kill him.” And he only just escaped. Then she said,—“Oh, the report of the Rooster was true.” Then he wanted her, he the Rooster. Then the Elephant heard the news, and came and said,—“May God curse you. Will no one marry you except the Rooster” (your marriage only to a rooster)? He said,—“He is a waster who cannot do any work.” He said,—“Well, if the Rooster comes, you tell him that.” When the Rooster had come, the woman said,—“Now listen to what the Elephant said. He said you are a waster. You are not able to do any work.” Then he said,—“So the Elephant spoke thus?” He said,—“He is useless in spite of his size. Whatever work he can do, I can do.” When the Elephant came, she said,—“Have you heard what the Rooster said? The Rooster said you are useless in spite of your size. Whatever you can do he can do.” Then the Elephant said,—“He is lying.” Now there was a rubbish hole as wide as a large house. So the Elephant collected wood and grass

¹⁰ The *Kwotashi* is not usually used for guinea-corn, but there seems to have been some in this one.

and threw them in, and said,—“Now, let the Rooster come and take them out.” When the Rooster had come, she said,—“Now, as for the Elephant, you see what work he has done, (but) he says you are to take them out.” Then the Rooster summoned all the fowls, and they came and pulled out all the wood, and threw out all the grass. So the rubbish hole became as it was before. Then the Elephant came, and the woman said,—“Now, you see what the Rooster has done.” Then the Elephant said,—“Very well. To-morrow, when the Rooster comes, tell him to-morrow we shall fight, he and I.” When the Rooster had come and heard (this), he said,—“Very well. Let each get his relations to help him.” So the Elephant went and summoned all the beasts of the forests. The Rooster also went and summoned all the birds. Then they came to the battle-field. The Hawk (or Kite?) said,—“I am general.” The Hyæna was told off to see if their army was drawn up. Then they said,—“Now, Ostrich, you go ahead. You go and see if their army is drawn up.” Now it happened that the Hyæna was coming, the Ostrich also was coming, and they met and saw each other. The Hyæna said,—“Oh, Ostrich, is your army ready?” And the Ostrich said,—“What about you? Is yours ready?” She (Hyæna) said,—“Yes.” Then the Ostrich said,—“Go back and tell them. I will return and tell mine.” When the Ostrich turned round, the Hyæna saw the flesh at the bird’s back, and she felt greedy and said,—“Ostrich, wait. Let us have our little fight, you and I.” The Ostrich said,—“Very well. You beat me three times, and I also will return (the blows) three times.” The Hyæna came and beat the Ostrich three times. The Ostrich got up and said,—“Now let me return (the blows).” She came and beat her with her wings, she kicked her with her feet, she pecked with her beak. The Hyæna said,—“That’s three times.” She said,—“Oh no, that is only once.” She again pecked her with her beak and pulled out her eye, and then she said,—“Let us return.” The beasts of the forest, when they saw the Hyæna without an eye, said,—“What is the matter?” She said,—“Do you see my eyes have been plucked out? We are not able to fight them (their war).” Fear had already got hold of her. Then they said,—“Come, let us go.” They arrived on the battle-ground at the same time (one mouth). Then the Rooster said,—“Let us give

battle." Then the general of the birds came and saluted the Rooster. They came (closer?) to fight. He took a string-blind and a fowl's egg, and flew to (sought) the Elephant, and broke the egg on her head. Then the Hawk said,—“The Elephant's head is broken! The Elephant's head is broken!” The Elephant touched her head with her trunk, and said,—“Oh dear, my head is broken.” Then he (Hawk) threw the string-blind on her, and said,—“Her bowels are coming out! Her bowels are coming out!” When the beasts of the forest came and saw (this) they all ran away, and the Rooster went off home. Then he said,—“You, O Hawk, I shall give you a present for fighting so well. Whenever my wife gives birth you come (keep on coming) and take one. That is my present (or obligation) to you.”

39. *The Ungrateful Boy and the Dove.* (M.)

As for this (boy) he and his father lived (were there) without any luck, even up to the time when¹¹ the father died. The father had no property. (He had) nothing but a coat of bast. So the boy ran away, and went on and on in the forest. Thus it was when a Dove came and perched (near), and said,—“If now you children¹² of Adam were done a good turn, would you return an evil one?” Then the boy said,—“(As) God (is my witness), I should not do (so) to you.” Then she said,—“Very well. You will see I shall give you riches. If I give you riches, I give you wives, I make (you) a large town which has no equal (its likeness), (but)¹³ if I come I shall say, ‘O Wearer of the coat of bast, O Wearer of the trousers of bast, O Poor One (son of poverty),’” she said, “(I shall say it) even until it (comes to) ten times.” He said,—“Very well, I agree.” So, as she was about to leave, she gave him a town, she gave him slaves, she gave him horses, she gave him wives, everything she gave him, all the dwellers in the town she gave him. When she had given him (these) she flew away. As for the women of the town, two were

¹¹ *Har.* The usual meaning is until or as soon as, but both are inappropriate here.

¹² Plural, although evidently addressed to the boy.

¹³ The “but” is awkward. The condition is evidently that he must listen quietly to her insults for ten days.

the wives of him, the chief. Council meetings were always being held before him. Then the Dove came and said,—“O Wearer of the coat of bast, O Wearer of the trousers of bast,” she used to say, “O Poor One.” He used to say “Um.” Always (was this done) even until nine days were gone. Then on that day, when dawn came, she (Dove) said, “O Wearer of the coat of bast, O Wearer of the trousers of bast, O Poor One.” But he remained silent. Then the chief wife said,—“What kind of thing is (this) which is always bothering you?” He refused to answer, he the chief. So the wife (of the house) hit the Dove. When she had hit her, she (Dove) flew away from the town. But she took away her town, and left the boy with only a coat of bast.

40. *The Most Cunning of all the Birds.* (B. G.)

A White-breasted Crow, a Small Wood-pigeon, a House Dove, and a Red-eyed Pigeon were arguing (argued). The Dove said she was more knowing than the Crow. The Small Wood-pigeon said he was more crafty than the Dove. The Pigeon said she was more cunning than the Wood-pigeon. So they said,—“Well, let each state (what) his knowledge (is) that we may know.” Then the Crow said,—“If a man is standing upright,”¹⁴ she said, “if he stoops and bends, he is going to do evil.”¹⁵ Then the Dove said,—“Well, is that all you know, O Crow?” so said the Dove. She said,—“But beware of one who is eating a dum-palm nut.” She said “Why?” so said the Crow. Then the Dove said,—“Ah, does not one who is eating a nut stand upright? What if he throws the nut which is in his mouth at you?” Then she (Crow) said,—“Ah, I have shewn my knowledge. Now you do yours.” So she said,—“Very well, I, my craftiness (is such that) I am not to be caught in a trap.” Then the Wood-pigeon said,—“I also am not to be caught in a trap.” Then the Pigeon said, “I also am not to be caught in a trap.” So then they said,—“You, Dove, to-day you will go and peck at the threshing-place where the boys make a trap.” So she came. When she had come, the boys made a trap in the chaff. So she came and began pecking, and

¹⁴ “Shamm” is possibly coined from *Attention*, though the story teller said not, but that it came from “shiru.”

¹⁵ *E.g.*, “to shoot.”

pecking, and pecking, when the trap caught her. When it had caught her, the boys ran up and took her out. Then the Pigeon said to the Wood-pigeon,—“I say, is that the kind of cunning the Dove has?” Then he (Wood-pigeon) said,—“Ah, look here. We have seen hers. There remains mine and yours.” So the Pigeon said,—“Very well. To-morrow, O Wood-pigeon, you will peck.” When he had come, he began pecking, and pecking, and pecking, when the trap just caught him. When it had caught him, and the boys had come to take (loose) him (out), he flapped (his wings) and escaped. Then he went and said to the Pigeon,—“I only just escaped to-day.” So the Pigeon said,—“Really, Wood-pigeon, have you and the Dove no sense? Wait (until) to-morrow. (Then) come and you will see (what) cunning (is).” When day broke, the Pigeon and his wife were going to the threshing-place to peck. The boys came and set the trap, and scattered guinea-corn inside. So, when the Pigeon alighted with his wife, they (began) eating guinea-corn, and eating and eating until the Cock-pigeon saw the trap. The Wood-pigeon and the Crow were above watching, and saying,—“The trap will catch him” (her). When the pigeon saw the trap, he said to his wife,—“Lahidi,¹⁶ fly away. There are feathers on the ground here.”¹⁷ So they went off “hoop,” and flew upwards. Then the Crow said,—“Truly the Pigeon is more crafty than we.” You know that, if a Crow is there, if you bend she will fly away. That is the knowledge she has.

41. *The Wild Cat and the Cock.* (U. G.)

The Wild Cat and the Cock. They said they would be friends (make friendship). Then the Wild Cat said,—“Where shall I find you?” So he (Rooster) said,—“Here you will find me.” So he (Wild Cat) said,—“Very well. To-day at midnight I am coming so that we may talk.” So, when midnight came, he came and called,—“Saidu, Saidu.”¹⁸ The Rooster did not answer; he had told him it was his name. He (Wild Cat) again called,—“Saidu”; the Rooster did not answer. When dawn

¹⁶ Name of girl born on a Sunday.

¹⁷ Where the other birds had been caught.

¹⁸ All these words are supposed to represent the cry a wild cat makes.

came, the Rooster flapped his wings,—“Puk puk puk,”¹⁸ and said,—“Who is calling Saïdu?” The Wild Cat saw that day had broken, (so) he ran away to his hiding-place. In the evening they again met, so he (Wild Cat) said,—“How (was it) I came (last) night and was calling you, and did not hear you?” Then he (Rooster) said,—“Ah, I went to the bedroom. I was sleepy.” So he said,—“Very well. To-day we shall talk. Do not go into the house.” So he (Rooster) said,—“Very well.” So he (Wild Cat) went away. When midnight came, he returned, he came, and (began) calling,—“Mabayi, Mabayi.”¹⁸ The Rooster did not answer. He again called,—“Mabayi, Mabayi.” The Rooster said,—“Who is calling Mabayi?”¹⁹ Then the Wild Cat said,—“An angry one, an angry one” (thing of anger).¹⁸ Then he (Wild Cat) said,—“Are you not coming out?” He (Rooster) said,—“No, (not) until the morning.” So, when dawn came, the Rooster went,—“Chikkakalike, chikkakalike, chikkakalike.”²⁰ In the evening again they met, and the Wild Cat said,—“How is it that I came last night and called you ‘Mabayi,’ and did not hear you?” Then he (Rooster) said,—“Oh, no, I certainly replied.” He (Wild Cat) said,—“Very well. To-day we shall talk. Do not enter the house.” He (Rooster) said,—“Very well.” They were playing, and playing, and playing, when the Wild Cat squeezed him. Then he went “Kurait.”¹⁹ Then the people of the house said,—“Who is it?” So the Wild Cat said,—“It is we. We are playing.” Then the Rooster said,—“What kind of play (is this), so (fierce that) I drop dirt?” Then he (Wild Cat) said,—“May I touch this red on your head and taste it?” When the Rooster had put down his head, the Wild Cat twisted off the head and ate (it). Then the young cocks (began) saying, a little way off,—“Friendship, friendship.”²⁰ The Wild Cat said,—“Friendship for what?” Then he took the flesh of the Rooster’s body, and took it into the bush. From that time the friendship of the Cock and the Wild Cat was ended.

A. J. N. TREMEARNE.

(To be continued.)

¹⁸ To represent the sounds of the rooster.

INDIAN FOLKLORE NOTES, III.¹

THE following notes are based on materials kindly supplied by Mr. Halliday Sparling.

The Marriage of a God.—The highest peak of the Shevaroy Hills in the Salem District of the Madras Presidency is the scene of an annual rite, in which the Malayālis,—not an aboriginal tribe, but a group of Tamils, recent emigrants to the hill country from the Plains,—celebrate the marriage of their tribal god, Sarvarāyan, with the goddess of the Cauvery river. He is supposed to be the deified spirit of a famous leader of the tribe. His shrine is a rough structure of granite slabs, rudely carved, and beneath it there is said to be an underground passage to the river Cauvery. Such stories are often told in connection with such marriage rites, as in the case of Mūchak Rāni.² After distribution of food to the poor, the priest brings out the images of the god and goddess from the temple, and installs them in cars highly decorated and covered with wreaths supplied by enthusiastic votaries. They are then carried to the summit of the hill, where they are received with showers of coco-nut water, plantains, and rice, which are poured upon them to the sound of drums and trumpets. Then the goddess is lifted from her car to a litter on which she is conveyed to the hill peak, whence the river Cauvery is visible. Here the chief priest, amidst the solemn silence of the people, recites the marriage ritual. At the conclusion of the service the worshippers raise loud acclamations, and the goddess is conveyed back to a cairn on which the image of the god has been placed. From this point the cultivated lands of the tribe are visible, and the deities, as their glances fall upon them, are supposed to fertilise them with their blessings. We may compare with this rite of marriage of the god a similar ceremony at Boghaz-Keui (Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 2nd ed., pp. 108 *et seq.*); that of Dionysus with the queen-archon, and of Zeus with Hera, (Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. v., pp. 217 *et seq.*, vol. i., pp. 184 *et seq.*); and the legend of the Minotaur and Pasiphaë, (Miss J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 482). (*Madras Times*, June 4, 1908.)

¹ For II. see vol. xx., pp. 482-5.

² Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore*, 2nd ed., vol. ii., p. 323.

Observances at the Hindu New Year.—In south India Vishu, the Hindu New Year's Day, falls early in April. There is a general belief that the prosperity of the coming year depends upon the first object which the householder happens to see on that morning when he wakes. Oxen, a cow, gold, silver, coco-nuts, flowers, or vegetables are auspicious; oil, firewood, a cat, or ashes are inauspicious. Accordingly a careful man takes precautions to select the lucky articles, known as *Kari*, and places them in such a position that his gaze is safe to fall upon them when he wakes. (*Madras Times*, April 15, 1909.)

Field Spirits in the Konkan.—In the Konkan, that part of India which lies on the south-west coast, there is a general belief in the existence of guardian field spirits, known as *Rakhandār* or "protectors." They live in a bush, the stump of a tree, or a heap of stones on the boundaries of the fields, and they are propitiated on the night before reaping begins with an offering of boiled rice, vegetables, cakes fried in oil, lampblack, and bangles, the gifts being arranged to suit the wishes of the spirit, which may be of either the male or female sex. The spirit may be stolen by some malicious resident of a neighbouring village, who removes it to his own field, with the natural result that, as the crop of the original owner diminishes, that of the thief flourishes. In some villages there are persons who make a business of abducting such useful spirits. When a spirit has been stolen, the remedy is for the owner to visit the field into which he believes it to have been enticed, and to induce it by gifts and promises of worship to take its seat on a leaf of the yam plant, and then to hasten back with it and install it in its original home. The control of these spirits is the business of the *Gaonkār* or village headman, who, when the time comes for manuring the rice fields, heads the procession into the precincts of the field spirit, and opens the season by plucking a leaf from the spirit's tree, a feat which he alone dares to perform. He also takes command in the annual sacred hunt, and offers part of any game which has been killed at the village spirit's shrine. He also undertakes the duty of expelling evil spirits from the village. This rite, known as *Kirka*, is done twice in the year, before and after the rainy season, on the first occasion the spirits being driven towards the plain of the Deccan, and on the second

into the sea. He entices the spirits to enter a leaf tray which is filled with offerings acceptable to them. This he first lays before the shrine of the village spirit, and then starts carrying it to the village boundary, followed by a menial of the village beating a drum and carrying a cock. As he passes through the village site, the women of each house go through the form of sweeping the spirits out of their houses, and their departure is hastened by flinging near the door some live coals and water. At the village boundary the cock is sacrificed by cutting off its head. The head is buried in the ground as an offering to the village earth spirit, and the remainder of the flesh, with the offerings which had been placed on the tray, are divided among the leading members of the procession. (*Times of India*, Oct. 3, 1907.)

W. CROOKE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CALENDAR CUSTOMS OF THE BRITISH ISLES.

(*Ante*, pp. 10, 14.)

The Committee appointed to carry out the scheme for the Folk-Lore Society's new edition of the Calendar Customs portion of Brand's *Popular Antiquities* have procured copies of Ellis's edition of Brand, Hone's *Every Day Book*, *Year Book*, and *Table Book*, and Chambers' *Book of Days*, which are in course of being cut up and pasted for collation, to form a framework into which to fit additional matter. The Council has made a grant of two salvage copies of each of the publications of the Society containing matter relating to any part of the United Kingdom, which will be collated in like manner.

The Committee have already received promises of help in various ways from Lady Gomme, Miss Edith F. Carey, Miss Roalfe Cox, Miss Eyre, Mr. F. G. Green, Capt. Bryan Jones, the Rev. C. S. Swainson, and upwards of twenty other members. They would be glad to hear of more workers, whether members of the Society or not, and especially (*a*) of more correspondents in Scotland, and (*b*) of readers who would undertake to examine and make extracts from local serial publications such as *Fenland Notes and Queries*, *Herts and Middlesex N. and Q.*, *Northamptonshire N. and Q.*, *Notts and Derby N. and Q.*, and *Shropshire N. and Q.*, *Byegones*, and many others.

These are the most pressing needs of the moment. Anyone who can help in these or any other ways is requested to write



TREE NEAR NING CHING, CHIH LI.

to Mrs. Banks, (30 Lambolle Rd., London, N.W.), who will forward full particulars and instructions.

HENRY B. WHEATLEY, CHARLOTTE S. BURNE, ARTHUR R. WRIGHT, MARY M. BANKS,	}	The "Brand" Committee.
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INSTITUT ETHNOGRAPHIQUE INTERNATIONAL DE PARIS.

Several leading French ethnographers, with M. J. de Morgan as President, propose to establish a new Society under the title of "Institut Ethnographique International de Paris." It will deal with the subject of human culture in all its branches. It proposes to establish a great Musée de Civilisations, and will, for the present, be represented by the well-known *Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie*. Ultimately it is intended that the Institute shall publish a series of *Memoirs*. This great project will, it is hoped, receive co-operation from English scholars, who are invited to communicate with the Secretary, M. M. G. Regelsperger, rue la Boétie 85, Paris VIII^e.

CHINESE TREE-WORSHIP AND TRIAL BY ORDEAL.

In June, 1906, was reproduced in *Folk-Lore* (p. 190) a photograph of a tree near Yung-Ping-Fu city in Chihli province, sent to me by my friend the Rev. J. Hinds, then of Tongshan. Through the kindness of the same friend, and of his colleague, Dr. Baxter, I am now able to present a print of an old willow-tree (Plate XI.), which is still an object of worship, and stands by the side of the highway within the borders of Chihli and about 18 *li* (i.e. six miles) from Ning Ching. The tree will probably not remain much longer a conspicuous object in the landscape, as it is quite dead, and is only held up by a section of the lower trunk.¹ Late last autumn some people burning incense to it set it on fire,

¹As this page is going to press, I have received a letter telling me that the tree was blown down last spring. Probably, as in other like cases, it will be explained that the tree-spirit removed before the fire to another home.

so that the trunk is now, as visible in the photograph, scarred and blackened. The neighbouring buildings are shrines of local guardian spirits (T'u Ti) or village gods. Some references to Chinese tree-worship will be found in Johnston's *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, pp. 377-81.

The following cutting of a native paper's extract from the *North China Daily News*, of a date between March 11th and April 19th last, seems worthy of record. (The spelling and punctuation of the cutting are followed exactly.)

A. R. WRIGHT.

CHENYUAN, March 11.

A NOT OF TROUBLES.

Two days south of here in the Black Miao village of Panghai, we have a mission station where Mr. and Mrs. Powell have resided for two years. They have just told me a most interesting incident.

Recently, one of their helpers was away for a visit to his home. When he returned he excused himself for being behind time by saying there had been a 'broth-cooking' in his village. When asked when he meant he said there had been a quarrel which was settled by cooking broth. The quarrel started between two women. A certain young woman was in the habit of visiting an elder woman; one day the elder woman said 'I don't like you to come here. After you were here once my husband died. Another visit was followed by my son's death. I believe you bring us bad luck and I want you to keep away.' Needless to say such an accusation aroused great hostility and some trouble ensued. Finally, one of the young woman's party offered to vindicate her character by the broth-making test.

A day was appointed and a great crowd gathered to see the trial. A large cauldron was brought out and set over a rudely prepared fireplace. Into this a mess of millet was put to boil and an axe-head was laid in the bottom of the cauldron. When the contents began to boil, the young woman's champion stripped his arm bare. His duty was to reach down into the boiling porridge and snatch out the axe-head with his naked hand. If his skin were blistered, then the young woman's cause was lost; if not, her honour was vindicated. Each side had also wagered a stake of some Tls. 25.²

To snatch out the axe-head was the work of an instant and the man's hand and arm came out uninjured from the scalding bath. It was clear therefore that the young lady was not the minister of bad luck.

This is the first instance of trial by ordeal I have met with in China.

² *I.e.* about 68s.

THE BEAVER AND "FOUNDATION SACRIFICE."

The so-called "foundation-sacrifice" is a custom which, in certain forms, is found among different peoples in various parts of the globe. The item cited in this brief note may have escaped the attention of those interested in the origin and extension of the practice in question. In his account of the Shushwap Indians of British Columbia, in the *Sixth Report* (1890) on the *North Western Tribes of Canada* (Brit. Assoc. Adv. Sci.), p. 92, Dr. Franz Boas says:

"They believe that the beaver, when constructing its dam, kills one of its young and buries it under the dam, that it may become firmer and not give way to floods."

This seems to be an aboriginal belief, and not one due to contact with the whites. This being so, it is interesting to inquire if, in Europe, where the beaver was once so plentiful, any similar beliefs are on record. Is it possible that such beliefs regarding the beaver could have been anterior to the customs and practices embodied in the "foundation-sacrifice"? The attribution of certain actions to animals may sometimes have led to the carrying out of similar ones when human beings were engaged in the performance of things of the same kind, building, etc.

ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

BURNING ELDER-WOOD.

(*Ante*, p. 24.)

I picked up the following item about a month ago. A gentleman who has lately purchased a property about six miles from here (Weyhill, near Andover), said to his keeper last autumn,—“I think we will grub up all those elder-trees in that copse. They are biggish trees, and the bavins [faggots] we get out of them will sell for more than it will cost to do the job.” “Gawd bless your silly soul!” replied the keeper, “folk won’t buy them

bavins! They dursn't burn 'em if you gave them away,—they don't want the devil down their chimbleys!"¹

5th May, 1911.

R. M. HEANLEY.

HOLLY FOR WHIP-STOCKS.

(*Ante*, p. 18.)

In one of the "eighties" of the last century I was at Barnet during the celebrated horse-fair. Holly sticks were being sold. One seller was a magnificent old gipsy woman,—a veritable Meg Merrilies. She must have stood over six feet. She wore dull brown clothing, brightened by a red and yellow handkerchief about her throat. In her hand were several of the sticks; peeled, if I remember rightly. I was told they were sold in the fair every year, and used in driving the animals bought.

M. PEACOCK.

PARISH GLEANINGS FROM UPTON ST. LEONARD'S, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

In an interesting pamphlet called *Parish Gleanings from Upton St. Leonard's, Gloucestershire*, the Rector of the Parish, the Rev. E. C. Scobell, gives some account of the history, legends, beliefs, and customs connected with this village, which is situated at the foot of the Cotswold Hills, about three miles south-east of Gloucester. The following extracts will be of interest to folklorists:—

The Cherry Fair was held on the first three Sundays after July 5th, old Midsummer Day. Stalls with cherries, ginger-bread, etc., were placed near the King's Head, and previously near the church. People assembled from neighbouring places, sports, wrestling matches, etc., were held, which involved disorderly scenes.

David Harris (died 1904, aged 94) described how the men of "Brockroth" (*sic*) and Whaddon "came to attack we." "We met them with our fists and with sticks, and the blood did flow; it was like Waterloo in Upton. Some constables was there, but they was no good of." This was in 1840, and is still remembered at Brookthorpe. A similar scene took place in 1854, when men came on purpose to wreck the stalls.

¹ Cf. *Notes and Queries*, 1st S., vol. vii. (1853), p. 177.

Possibly the feeling may have been racial. Brookthorpe, by the term "thorpe," was a Danish settlement. "Naas" in that parish is a Danish term. . . . (p. 8.)

At Bristol Fair in the winter, cakes in the shape of a pig are sold. . . . The Fair at last became an abuse, and was discontinued.

Such parish feuds, as referred to, were common; the Upton Club was once attacked at dinner. They may have arisen from the strong parochial, or tribal instincts prevalent, which objected to people, especially brides, being taken from the parish, or from some traditional blood feud. The custom in the Forest of Dean which draws a rope across the road in front of a wedding party, points to this; the origin of "best man" seems to be an honour for having secured the bride. In former days any person coming to live in Upton was called "a foreigner"; the term was especially applied to anyone living on the other side the Severn. Some people are said to have attended a church near, but were told "foreigners were not wanted." (p. 9.)

Hiring at Mop was until recently common. It is remembered by a person living in 1902, aged 84, that a woman went to the Mop with a halter round her neck and sold herself.

When servants were hired, money was given termed "the earnest." (p. 10.)

"*Burning the Skimmington*" was a West of England custom known here. The object was to ridicule a man beaten by his wife. . . . The effigy of the offender was first placed "under Pinlock," i.e. in the Pound, and a shilling was paid for its release; it was then burnt. People now living describe it. (p. 10.)

Rough music, or "tanging" was common, especially at weddings if the bells were not rung, and for certain offences against the public conscience.

In 1858 the following resolution was passed in vestry:—"The practice of assembling with a rough band to the annoyance of individuals and disturbance of the public is an evil which ought no longer to be suffered. This meeting therefore pledges itself to use its utmost power to discourage and put an end to such practice if again attempted. . . ."

A key was beaten on a shovel or some such noise made to tang bees; the idea seems to have been to give notice to neighbours, as the owner had the right to follow the swarm over any ground, perhaps also to attract bees.

The word "tang" still survives in "tanging" a bell.

A bell in the parish was rung after harvest at 5 a.m. to let people know they might go to glean or leaze. Many would be ready to start.

The Curfew or perhaps the Compline Bell was rung at 8 p.m. (p. 11.)

A custom once prevailed of asking gifts on New Year's Day, singing:

"Blawe, blawe, bear well,
Spring well in April,
Every sprig and every spray
Bear a bushel of apples against
Next New Year's Day."

The idea was that high winds were good for the trees by moving the roots. (p. 12.)

Mrs. G—— used to plant beans for Mr. Frankis at the Parsonage, now the Rectory. When the work was done, she said, "We had a rare whip-cat" (*i.e.* supper and games), "especially 'hunting the slipper.'" (Cp. Bean-feast, cp. Tip-cat. Probably "cat" is chat, a piece of wood; picking up wood is described as "chatting." (p. 13.)

The Open-Field System existed here till 1897.

The title of certain plots of land called "No-Man's Land," or, as in Upton St. Leonard's, "Norman's Acre," looks back to archaic times. . . . There is a tree marking a place in Upton referred to in former surveys of the parish as "Gospel Beech," and another as "Gospel Oak." (pp. 29, 30.)

The Moon is said to affect trees and animals. It is held that pigs should be killed under a rising moon or the bacon will not "plim," *i.e.* swell, in the pot. Wood cut then, too, is believed to last longer in the ground, and seeds sown then to grow better, and trees grafted to be more successful. Rushes for candles in Scotland were thus gathered. This is referred to in Dr. Johnson's "Tour in the Hebrides," and in Evelyn's "Sylva." (p. 12.)

An old woman named Cole, who kept a school at Bond End, in the timber house, was much resorted to, to cure thrush in children. She had a formula of incantation, and touched the mouth, said to be with borax.

Another person, Comfort Whatley (died 1857) is said to have done the same.

To cure shingles, wheat was placed on the blacksmith's anvil and then applied.

Warts were cured by a black snail being placed on them, pricked with blackthorn as many times as there were warts to be touched. The skin of the snail was then hung on the thorn bush; no one was to be told, it was to be kept "perdu." (p. 12.)

The cuckoo had its stories. It was not believed to be migratory: it was remarked, "He go abroad, not he; he be too lazy to fly from one parish to another." The bird was supposed to hide in granaries and hollow trees. A story runs that one cold night a log of wood was placed on the fire, and the family party sat round it. The log blazed, when the song of the cuckoo was plainly heard. All jumped up, the sheep-dog barked, but before the log could be split the bird was burnt to ashes. It was strongly stated that the song was heard. (p. 13.)

The following is a conversation with a friend: "I've allers noticed that when the "Ayquills" hollohs "wezt, wezt," we gets rine. If you listen to them you can hear them speck quite plain: "wet, wet." They've been hollohing very loud this last d'y or two, and see what rine we've got. They hollohs as they flies along."

The birds were Woodpeckers, probably the Lesser Spotted species; perhaps so-called "Ayquills" from their beak, which bores into trees,—French aiguille, a needle. (p. 18.)

Long years ago a certain Miss Nicholls hanged herself, and her ghost was

said to haunt her house. Twelve ghost-layers came and laid the ghost at midnight under the hearthstone. (p. 14.)

Sayings:

"He's never happy unless he's miserable," speaking of a grumbling person.

"A nimble penny is worth a slow sixpence."

"He should have coughed more before he did it."

"Within a squirrel's jump."

"The furdur off the better looked upon."

Argument against a parish banquet:—"Them as comes won't remember it; them as don't won't forget it."

"As cold as mutton," said of weather.

"The dog for the man, the cat for the woman," referring to respective duties.

"As sure as God's in Gloucestershire," was a common proverb, probably arising from the number of monasteries existing in this county. (p. 8.)

MARGARET BURNE.

Loynton Hall, Newport, Shropshire.

PLAYING THE WER-BEAST.

(Vol. xxi., pp. 371-4).

Since I wrote the account of *main hantu musang* which was published in *Folk-Lore*, Mr. R. J. Wilkinson's pamphlet on *Malay Amusements*¹ has appeared. It contains a brief description of the same thing, and gives the verses sung in the similar goat game. Besides variants I mentioned, Mr. Wilkinson speaks (p. 11) of a *main hantu rusa* (deer), at the present time nothing more than ordinary hide-and-seek, but said by Malays to have originated in the possession by the spirit of a slaughtered deer of a party of hunters who omitted to propitiate it in the usual way (p. 1). Compare with this the Singhie Dyak who at one time was "running about the woods in a state of nudity, making the noises and imitating the habits of a deer, of the flesh of which animal he was supposed to have eaten."² Some such madness is one of the penalties supposed to be incurred by Dyaks who eat forbidden flesh.³

¹ F.M.S. Government Press, Kuala Lumpur.

² Low, in Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak etc.*, vol. i., p. 296.

³ S. St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, vol. i., p. 72, and Hose in *Ling Roth, op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 389.

The same game exists in Java and Sumatra. Dr. Snouck Hugronje⁴ describes how, among the Sundanese in Java, boys are made to assume the characteristics of a monkey or a peacock. The method is just like that of the Peninsular Malays, except that sometimes the fumes of incense are employed. In Acheh, too, he tells us that animals are similarly imitated, especially the common ape, the coco-nut monkey, and the elephant. He gives for the ape game a quite untranslatable formula, obviously connected with the second of those which I quoted for the *main hantu musang*. As the latter makes excellent sense the other looks like a corruption, and may indicate that these games were imported into Acheh from a region where Malay was spoken.

Malays are perhaps exceptionally sensitive to hypnotic influence. This seems to be indicated by the strange mental or nervous disease called *latah*,⁵ which is not uncommon in certain districts. Amongst them, too, fits and trances readily take the form of possession by a spirit called *langsuir*. A young man, otherwise absolutely sane, may have a seizure in which he shouts, sings, and whistles, and shows a well-marked double personality. When the demon has been expelled, or he wakes up after an interval of natural sleep, he has no memory of what has occurred.

Swinging as a method of attaining an abnormal mental state is also used by the *manang* of Borneo.⁶

I suggested that, when the boy is recalled to ordinary consciousness by the sound of his own name,⁷ we have a case of obedience to pre-suggestion. But the form which the suggestion takes is probably an illustration of the very common idea, met with in various forms among the Malays, that spirits (of dangerous beasts, diseases, the dead, etc.) are readily summoned by the sound of their names, wherefore such names may not be spoken.⁸

⁴ *The Achehnese*, Eng. Trans., vol. ii., pp. 206-207.

⁵ *J.R.A.S. (Straits Branch)*, No. 11, pp. 143-153; Sir F. A. Swettenham, *Malay Sketches*, pp. 64-82.

⁶ Crocker and Perham in Ling Roth, *op. cit.*, vol. i., pp. 285-279.

⁷ Cf. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 465.

⁸ So, if a tiger may be near, a Malay speaks of "The Hairy One," "The Striped One," "The Chief with the Moustaches," etc. Smallpox is *penyakit orang baik* ("the good man's sickness"), and in Borneo *penyakit raja* or *bua*

In this case the boy's own proper *semangat* may be called back and resume its place, while the *hantu musang* departs.

J. O'MAY.

UNLUCKY MEETINGS.

(Vol. xxi., p. 225; vol. xx., p. 222.)

THE belief that an accident is likely to happen to a collier who persists in going to work after meeting a woman on his way to the pit is still strong in the Staveley and Eckington districts near Chesterfield (Derbyshire). I verified an instance of the belief being acted upon during the week ending Oct. 8th, 1910, when a Staveley collier went back home after such a meeting, although greatly annoyed, because, as he said, he could ill afford to lose work. Some colliers now refuse to turn back in such a case, but the belief has been strengthened by local discussion of a recent serious injury in the pit to a collier on the very day on which he had encountered a woman on his way to work.

T. E. LONES.

kayu ("the royal disease," or "fruit sickness"), (Chambers in Ling Roth, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 291). The real name of a hunted creature must not be mentioned, no doubt lest it should attract the vague "influences" (*badī, jīmbalang*) which protect even the most defenceless creatures of the jungle and the ocean. The similar rules which bind tin miners and seekers for camphor, eaglewood, etc., (Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 254, 212, 208, etc.), are doubtless extensions of the same idea. The explanation that the name of a tiger or a bear is avoided through fear or respect seems quite insufficient.

REVIEWS.

DIE ZAUBERGABEN. Eine vergleichende märchen-untersuchung.
VON ANTTI AARNE. (Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne
XXVII.) Helsingfors : Soc. Finno-ougrienne, 1909. Large
8vo, pp. 96.

THE author of this monograph has selected the cycle of tales of the Magical Gifts for his special investigation. He has drawn his circle rather narrowly, and has limited himself to the study of those tales in which either three, or two, or one magical gift appears,—consisting mostly of a table or table-cloth that provides food, or an ass that provides gold, and a stick that beats the cheating host, who is then compelled to restore the gifts which he has stolen from his unsuspecting guest. The gifts are mostly from supernatural beings, either out of gratitude for kindness shown by the hero to some one near and dear or as compensation for loss sustained through the agency of this supernatural being, *e.g.* crops destroyed. Mr. Aarne groups the tales concerning the magical gifts according to nations, taking the Finnish, Russian, Greek, etc., separately, and he next very skilfully tabulates the gifts according to the tales in which they occur. He then examines each incident separately, and tries to arrive at the primitive form from which have been derived these tales, the existence of which he proves in Europe, Asia, and to some extent also in Africa. It is interesting to note the affinities which correspond with geographical proximity ; the tales of nations that live close to one another, *e.g.* Finnish and Russian, agree more closely even in details than the versions found among other nations that live at a greater distance from one another. Mr. Aarne has, however, with all his diligence, been unable to carry the investigation much further than this systematic

grouping and attempted reduction to a primitive form, which according to him contained three gifts, later on reduced to two, and then dwindling to one. He has an inkling, however, that the subject is not by any means exhausted by the mere study of the folk-tales gathered in comparatively modern times from the mouths of the people, and it may be mentioned that, though his reading is extensive,—proof of it appearing in the long bibliography appended to the volume,—it has by no means covered the whole ground of the existing material, for there is a goodly number of collections to which he does not refer. He endeavours to follow up the literary variants (pp. 68 *et seq.*), but these are limited to Basile's *Pentamerone* (I, 1.), a Georgian tale, and a Mongolian tale from the *Siddhi-kur*. In spite of these limitations he arrives at a very singular and definite conclusion as to the home and origin of this cycle of tales; he dismisses the Orient, although there are many variants in that part of the world, and, by a somewhat confused argument, he comes to the conclusion that the tale originated somewhere in the south of Europe, in one of the Mediterranean countries, and that it has been communicated to the northern and western parts through the intermediary of the nations of the Balkan Peninsula; from this centre the tale has migrated to Asia, and found its way to India. But there is no cogent reason given why the reverse may not have taken place, *i.e.* that, originating in India, the tale may have migrated thence to the Balkan peoples, and then spread over Europe, as most of these tales have done.

It is a pity that the author has not followed the matter up a little further so as to arrive at a better understanding of the history of the tale, for it should not be studied in isolation. It is no doubt a further development of older tales, some of which have been in great vogue and enjoyed exceptional popularity during the Middle Ages. I refer specially to the well-known story of Fortunatus (Dunlop-Liebrecht, p. 478, No. 219, referring to Graesse and to a number of other parallels), and also to the famous story of Jonathas in the *Gesta Romanorum* (ed. Oesterley, No. 120, and the literary references to it, p. 731). This leads us to the other cycle of the Three Wishes, of which *Pentamerone* I, 3. is one of the best known variants, and the large literature given by

Saineau in his work on *Roumanian Fairy Tales* (pp. 856-69). If Mr. Aarne had extended his investigation beyond the narrower cycle of the tale of the Magical Gifts, and had taken into consideration the large amount of material available for the comparative study of the cycle, he might have hesitated to draw a hasty conclusion from insufficient material. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the work of compiling and comparing these tales among themselves has been satisfactorily done by Mr. Aarne, which makes this monograph a valuable contribution to the comparative study of folk-tales.

M. GASTER.

FAUNE ET FLORE POPULAIRES DE LA FRANCHE-COMTÉ. Par CH. BEAUQUIER. 2 vols. (Collection de Contes et Chansons Populaires, XXXII-III.) Paris: Leroux, 1910. Pp. 405, 409.

THE author of these latest volumes of the well-known French series seems to be a very careful student of his district, for, besides these two volumes on the fauna and flora (respectively), he has written five other works upon Franche-Comté. Moreover, he would seem to be an observer at first hand, for, whereas he acknowledges obligations to so large a number of friends who have aided him for many years that the list would be "too long to publish," on the other hand he appears to have consulted but nine published works, of which seven are dictionaries and vocabularies of local dialect.

Popular names, dialect words, and dialect proverbs constitute so large a part of the work that, though of extreme interest to the student of French patois, the books would not lend themselves well to translation. They are, however, worthy of a place as books of reference in any folklore library. The arrangement is alphabetical, and there is, moreover, in each volume, an excellent index of unfamiliar terms.

From the folklore point of view the volume on the fauna of the district is the more interesting, perhaps for a reason to which the author refers in the preface, and with which most of us are

familiar,—the lack of differentiation on the part of the villagers in regard to animals, but still more plants, unless they are of practical use in their daily life. Among plants we hear much of grass, hay, grapes, carrots, fir-trees, etc., but less than one might expect of even common wild-flowers, unless they have some medicinal use, or are associated with religious purposes; *e.g.* box is used, as in England the catkin of the willow, on Palm-Sunday, and is afterwards of value for indicating the whereabouts of lost objects, a story being told of a recent occurrence. A girl subject to epilepsy disappeared, traces of her being found on the bank of the river. After long search, her relatives made a wreath of box, and begged the curé to bless it, which, after some protest, he did. It was thrown into the river, and floated down to a certain point, at which it stopped. The corpse of the girl was found at the bottom of the stream exactly at that point.

The folklore in regard to farm-animals is specially interesting, and very abundant; it naturally deals largely with the evil eye, with taking away the milk, the laming of horses, riding horses by witchcraft, and the like. Holy water, blessed candles, and curious religious songs play an important part in the cure. Under certain circumstances also the farm-animals are required to observe fast-days, not eating till three hours after mid-day.

Either Franche-Comté must be extraordinarily rich in popular traditions, or Mons. Beauquier must have a rare gift of observation and collection.

A. M. SPOER.

NATURSAGEN. Eine Sammlung Naturdeutender Sagen Märchen Fabeln und Legenden. . . Herausgegeben von OSKAR DÄHNHARDT. Band III. Tiersagen. Erster Teil. Leipzig: Teubner, 1910. Large 8vo, pp. xvi + 558.

THIS section of Dähnhardt's work is more difficult to arrange than the preceding two. The material is placed under subjects or "motives," so that the beasts are all scattered about. But the reader who wishes to follow the fortunes of any given beast can find him in the index, which is good. The present volume

contains what we may call the non-literary tales, while those which come into literature, especially Greek and Indian, will appear in the next volume.

If the editor's experience has led him aright, he has found out an important point. While he admits that like conditions produce like results in this field, yet he thinks that it is easier to prove transmission than independent analogies. He would certainly see transmission if the tales contain several like "motives." Although the transmitted tales,—those known to be such,—come in the fourth volume, yet here the hypothesis must be borne in mind also. There are some remarkable analogies between Asia and America, and between Finland and the East and America.

It is instructive to see the modern story-maker at work. A story from Crane's *Italian Tales* was told in 1886 to an American Indian, and next year the editor got it back in a new and extended form. Both are given in the preface (pp. viii *et seq.*).

The subjects under which the tales are grouped include the origin of various peculiarities of animals,—shape, colour, tail, and so forth,—their names and lairs, their movements and qualities, their food, friendship, and enmity, and their changes. There is special interest in the tales which describe the source of fire (pp. 93 *et seq.*), and the soul-bird (pp. 476 *et seq.*). Nearly fifty different creatures are credited with the bringing of fire, and amongst them are the frog and the tortoise. Classical students will remember the eagle set free at the cremation of an emperor.

The book is full of matter, and may be heartily recommended.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

SCHLESISCHE SAGEN. I. SPUK- UND GESPENSTERSAGEN. II. ELLEN-, DAMONEN, UND TEUFELSAGEN. (Schlesiens Volkstümliche Überlieferungen.) VON RICHARD KÜHNAU. Leipzig: Teubner, 1910-11. 8vo, pp. xxxviii + 618, xxxii + 746.

THIS is not the first book of Silesian folk-tales; but it is the first comprehensive collection. It is clear from the introduction that

there has been an organised plan for collecting the traditional tales, carried out by the local Folklore Society, but Mr. Kühnau does not give the details, as we should have liked. He does, however, give his authorities most scrupulously. Kühnau, like all recent writers, has classified his tales by subject; but it is very difficult, even when all are agreed on this, to choose the subject. So many tales have more than one characteristic episode, or "motive," and it is not easy always to see the dominant one. Moreover, it is often not one, but a series of episodes, that is the crucial point. The classification in the first volume is based on the presence of a ghost or the like, which may be an accident in a tale, from our point of view, even if the tale centres round it. If Cinderella's fairy godmother had been a ghost, that should not have been a reason to take her out of Miss Cox's book and put her in Kühnau's.

However, these are ghost stories, and an amazing number there are,—more than six hundred in this volume. The editor prefixes an explanation of the ideas that are implied by each kind of ghost,—grave-ghost, house-ghost, and so forth. This is a little solemn: it might have been done more briefly. Then come the stories.

The ghosts, as we have hinted, are classified by the place they appear in; we find this sometimes artificial, *e.g.* when separate sections are given to the house-ghost and the ruined-house-ghost. Even so this does not exhaust all possibilities, and there is another principle of classification crossing it. We have the beneficent house-ghost and the maleficent house-ghost, the vampire (which may also be a house-ghost), maidens who appear in snake form, and others. Of course we have plenty of ghostly ideas, ghostly worshippers, and the like. A section is given to tales that describe the laying, or getting rid of, the ghost.

All existing collections have been used for this book, but apparently not all tales have been included; at least, the author warns us that tales collected in the first half of the nineteenth century are suspect, because that was the age of Romance. He trusts, however, those based on earlier authorities, or quoted from old chronicles. For each tale is given its place and its authority, from which we see that a large number are now orally collected

for the first time. Bibliography, index, and geographical register will come in the last volume. As there are to be several, these ought to have a volume to themselves.

While in the first volume the heroes of the tales are much of a muchness, in the second they are of great variety. We have the devil or familiar spirit in a bottle; the devil in form of a thaler, which enriches the owner; dragons, red, blue, fiery, and other; snakes and otters; kobolds, goblins, and dwarfs, male and female; changelings; spirits of the woodland and the *mittagsfrau*,—whom you meet between 12 and 2 p.m., and, if you meet her, you must make a speech lasting till 2 p.m., on pain of death; nixies of the water in great abundance; spirits in beast form, otter, snake, basilisk, and so forth; mountain spirits and night-hunters by the score; giants, and the demons of death, wind, and pestilence; with great quantities of devils. Of course the devil flees before a devout Christian; and many stories tell how he is tricked by one cleverer than he, a well-known "motive," and often amusing. The devil appears in many shapes, and even as the helper of the oppressed. This summary will give an idea of the extraordinary variety of matter in the second volume. It remains to add that the contents show for each story its source in a convenient way.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

Λαογραφία· δελτίον τῆς ἐλληνικῆς λαογραφικῆς ἐταιρείας. κατὰ
τριμηνίαν ἐκδιδόμενον. Τομ. Α' καὶ Β'. ἐν Ἀθήναις· τύποις Δ.
Σακελλαρίου, 1909, 1910.

WE give a cordial welcome to this new magazine, which is badly needed. There is no part of Europe so rich as are the Greek lands in traditional lore of all sorts; and now that the schoolmaster is abroad, and worse still the newspaper,—(for the Greek newspaper is the foe of everything natural),—all this will probably perish before long. Unfortunately, critical and scientific enquirers are few in Greece, but we may hope that their numbers will grow. One of them certainly is the veteran *Polites*, who is really the

founder of Greek folklore study: long may he live to give of his stores, and to inspire by his example. He contributes to the first number an essay on *λαογραφία*, a description of the Eratocritos, and notes on a folk-tale and on Albanian songs printed by two others. In the second number he deals with the Death of Digenes (the hero of the modern epic which will find its Peisistratus, we hope, in Mr. Dawkins), marriage in Leucas, and notes. In the third he surveys the periodical press for his subject. Other articles are Miscellanea, short contributions, local marriage customs, remains of the epic of Digenes, and lists of new books.

The date and authorship of Eratocritos are more important for Greece than for us: the work has been a favourite for centuries, and, if it were lost, it could probably be restored from the memories of Cretans alone. The hero and heroine have long since passed into proverbs. More important for us are the new stories and poems. The story of Apollonius of Tyana remains as a folk-tale in Cythera (i, 71). A metrical version exists, published by Wagner (*Carm. Gr. Med. Aevi*, p. 248). The Albanian texts appear to be reproduced with great care phonetically, but I am not able to judge how well; a Greek translation is given. Polites gives European and Greek parallels to the tales. The paper on the Death of Digenes contains a number of variants collected from different sources, with authorities. Chaviaras follows with some relics of this epic cycle from Rhodes. It seems that at weddings half a century ago the band of singers were called Digenes's chorus, and the leader Digenes. Koukoulé prints a collection of Cretan distichs, with vocabulary. Other parts of the cycle, from Rhodes, come in the second volume. We cannot go into details as to these or the other articles, but we must mention Papageorgios's description of the carnival in Seyros. This is already well known to scholars from the articles in the British School Annual and Hellenic Journal: a more detailed account is given here by a native, with photographs.

Polites contributes also to the other parts of vol. 2; other contributions are St. Helen in Cyprus, Cytherean riddles, stories from Aetolia, proverbs, marriage customs, and superstitions from various parts. An original paper is that of Boutouras on modern

month-names, in which he makes additions to his book on that subject. There are a few papers of the comparative or critical type, but most are what we want in such a periodical,—records of fact.

If this periodical continues to be as good as the first volumes it will be a most valuable storehouse of new facts. It may well be better still. The list of members covers a large part of the Greek world, and if each searches his own district there will be no lack of matter to fill dozens of volumes. It would be a very useful thing if some one would disinter the folk-tales from the files of the old *Hestia* and *Parnasos*, where they are really lost to the world.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

GREEK SAINTS AND THEIR FESTIVALS. By MARY HAMILTON.
Blackwood & Sons, 1910. 8vo, pp. 211.

MISS HAMILTON has chosen a fruitful subject, which many have played with and none investigated critically and thoroughly. Her book suffers from lack of unity. Some of the chapters have a critical or historical aim, and some are descriptive and popular. In examining the cases, really few, where a saint seems to have taken the place of an ancient god because the names were alike, Miss Hamilton draws a distinction without much difference (p. 19). The essential point is that the tradition remains; whether the saint was chosen because of the name may be doubted, but any theory on the subject needs a wider induction than any student has yet made. St. Merkyrios now curing sore ears instead of going on messages (p. 32) is enough to make us hesitate, and there are many such differences, the coincidences being very few. The book collects a good many facts from the more obvious sources, and describes the modern festivals,—(not all, but most of the famous ones),—from first-hand knowledge. It is a pleasant and readable introduction to the subject.

LATINSKA SKOLSÅNGER I SVERIGE OCH FINLAND. By TOBIAS NORLIND. (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift. Bd. 5, No. 2.) Sweden: Lund Univ., 1909. 8vo., pp. xvi+187+4.

PROFESSOR NORLIND'S book, apart from its more technical side, is of real interest as a study of one part of late mediæval life. It deals with the part taken by schoolboys in church services, in family festivals of christening, marriage, etc., and in "house to house" singing; and with the attempts to restrict these interruptions of study. An account follows of the study of music in mediæval schools and at the Reformation, and the influence of German musicians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The bulk of the treatise deals exhaustively with the *Piae Cantiones* (an edition of which has been recently issued by the Plain-Song Society), and compares the various issues from 1582 to 1900. Professor Norlind traces the development of the "pious chanson" from the Strophic Hymn, dating from the fourth century, and used in the daily Hours throughout the Middle Ages; the *Sequens*, beginning in the ninth century, which originated in the Alleluia in the Mass, and differed from the Hymn in having a different melody for each strophe; and the almost contemporaneous *Trope*, which grew from the doxology. The *piae cantiones*, however, had no direct connection with the liturgy, and soon became religious songs of a freer and more wordly kind; they flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, simultaneously with the *Minnesang*, and were gradually confused with songs of love, drinking, and spring. They have a carefully distinguished melody in two, three, or four parts, and are classified under the subjects of Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, the Vanity of Life, the Scholastic Life, History, and Spring. Though learned in origin, with Latin text, they show in Sweden the influence of German popular *Lieder*.

The last section, which deals with the association of the *Piae Cantiones* in Sweden with holidays and festivals, contains a great deal of interesting information, unfortunately hidden from many in a little-read language; it would be well worth translating into German or English. The permanence of the festivals among the people, and incidentally of the religious songs which accompanied

them, is traced to their connection with popular superstition and customs of heathen origin,—such as the hanging of clothes or hair on a tree by a holy well, (authenticated in Sweden within the last generation), and the sword-dance, with the accompanying killing or drowning of a king, still symbolised in Sweden by sprinkling a bystander with water. A short summary follows of the chief popular festivals,—Yule, the favourite day of which was St. Lucy; Easter; Whitsuntide, originally a spring or May feast; Trinity, kept by dancing all night round a holy well; Rogation; and the autumn feasts, of which Martinmas remained popular in spite of its nearness to St. Lucy. A few melodies are given in a supplement.

L. WINIFRED FARADAY.

ETHNOLOGY OF A-KAMBA AND OTHER EAST AFRICAN TRIBES.

By C. W. HOBLEY. Cambridge: University Press, 1910.

8vo, pp. xvi + 172. Map and ill.

THE A-Kamba are one of the most important tribes of the East African Protectorate, their territory forming, roughly speaking, a triangle, of which the apex, lying somewhat to the east of Mount Kenya, nearly reaches the Upper Tana, while its base extends along the Uganda Railway from Mtito Andei to Kiu. Their neighbours on the west are the Akikuyu, and on the east the Wasania and Waboni. Mr. Hobley thinks that "they are the purest Bantu race in British East Africa." The indications of Masai or other influences which come out here and there in Mr. Hobley's notes,—such as the use of the name *Engai* side by side with *Mulungu* (p. 85), the system of cattle-brands and arrow-marks (pp. 24, 46), and perhaps some of the "burial" customs,—are to be accounted for by borrowing. (On the wide-spread imitation of the Masai, which has also been remarked by German writers, see p. 132. *Muoin*, the name for a wizard or medicine-man (pp. 93, 96), can scarcely, as it stands, be Bantu).

One section of the A-Kamba say that they "originally came from a country to the south of Kilimanjaro," while others trace their origin to the Giriama country north of Mombasa (between

Takaungu and Malindi). It appears (p. 1.) that "a few isolated colonies of the tribe are found on Kilimanjaro." The inhabitants of this mountain, according to the Rev. J. Raum (*Versuch einer Grammatik der Dschaggasprache*, pp. 2-3) belong to several different stocks and immigrated from the north and east at various periods,—the latest settlement being probably about two centuries ago.

Pp. 1-117, with some additional notes in the Appendix, are devoted to the A-Kamba; the rest of the book consists, in the author's own words, of "the amplification of jottings made upon the occasion of journeyings among the various tribes touched upon." These refer to the Masai, the Akikuyu, the little known Mogogodo and Mweru tribes, and the Sambur, Laikipiak, and some others, and, though fragmentary, are very interesting. The account of the *Kithathi* given under the heading of "Kikuyu Magic," (p. 139), should be compared with that given by Mr. Scoresby Routledge (*With a Prehistoric People*, pp. 273 *et seq.*), who, however, had never seen it, and calls it a "mysterious something." Mr. Hobley figures it as a section of earthenware pipe, sloped off at the ends and with four holes in its circumference. Its magic is so potent that "it must never be taken into a house, or the result would be disastrous to the inmates; it must never be touched by human hands, but is lifted on a stick and deposited in a pocket made of dry banana-leaves. The parcel is then tied up and it can be safely carried from place to place." Mr Hobley had the good fortune to be present at a "trial by the Kithathi," described on pp. 140-41. Mr. H. R. Tate refers to this object (which he calls *Githathi*) in his paper "Native Law of the Southern Gikuyu," published in the *Journal of the African Society*, April, 1910.

It is impossible within these limits to discuss all the points of interest suggested by this book, with which we have no fault to find beyond a certain lack of revision and arrangement,—cognate matter being sometimes scattered through two or three different chapters, and one or two statements being allowed to stand in a form which a little correction would have made clearer; e.g. on p. 2, "The tribe can be conveniently divided into *three* sections,"—when *four* are enumerated. But it would be hypercritical to insist on small blemishes like this.

Two of the most important chapters are those headed "Circumcision" (pp. 68-77) and "Religion and Beliefs" (pp. 85-92). In the former, the pictographic staves (*Musai*, p. 71) are a feature new to us. The *Mubwiki* (instructors of the initiates) "go into the woods, each alone, and cut sticks from a tree called *Mihiwa*," on which they carve "what may be called riddles in picture writing . . . [being] conventional representations of common objects . . . and the pupil has to guess these one after the other. They are called *Nũeto* or riddles." On the same page is figured a *Musai* stick made specially for Mr. Hobley by one of the chiefs. A sort of rude picture writing is used by the Akikuyu (Routledge, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-10, Plates lxxxvi.-lxxxviii.), but it appears to be confined to the gourd rattles sometimes used by boys when dancing and singing (*kwinya kishandĩ*); and the staves described by Sir H. H. Johnston¹ as "intended to tell stories and point morals" would seem to come under the same category as these last.

The (now obsolete) ceremony of *Choo Mnumba* in Mumoni (p. 76), in which a monstrous aquatic animal, supposed to have come up out of the Tana river, was "caught . . . and led through the country . . . secured with ropes," recalls the *Zinyao* of Nyasaland. Mr. Hobley adds (p. 77), "Of course there is no doubt that this beast was of the nature of an animal one is accustomed to see on the pantomime stage, a couple of men covered with skins or something of the sort, but somewhere far back in the mists of time may have had some connection with the legends of the *dugong* or *manatee*." The place of the "whale" (*nyangumi*) in the Nyasaland mysteries, and the mud model (seen by the late Mr. Lindsay of Blantyre) of some creature unknown at the present day, seem to connect it with some tradition of extinct beasts.

Besides the impersonal Engai or Mulungu, "vaguely supposed to live in the sky," the *Aĩmu*, or ancestral spirits, are the principal objects of Kamba belief and worship. Mr. Hobley uses this word as though it were alike in singular and plural, but one would have expected it to be the plural of a singular *Mwĩmu*. It is certainly the same word as *mĩmu*, which in Swahili takes the plural *wazimu*, though in other languages, curiously enough, it

¹ *George Grenfell and the Congo*, vol. ii, pp. 807, 811.

belongs to the *mu-mi* class (pl. *misimu*) as though it did not denote a person. These spirits

"are innumerable and ubiquitous and . . . manifest themselves in many ways. Some believe that every person has many *Aiimu* in his body, others believe that ordinary people have only one but admit that a *Mundu nne* or big chief may have several. The *Aiimu* are not supposed to reside in any particular part of a man's body but to pervade the whole. Death is due to the *Aiimu* leaving the human frame and when a person dies his *Aiimu* go and live in a wild fig tree (*Mumbo*). The spirits of the good and bad do not associate but live apart in separate fig trees called *Mikuyu*, and the people build miniature huts at the foot of each kind, these huts are called *Nyumba wa* (?) *Aiimu*."

The above sentence is not quite clear; apparently we are to understand that there are two kinds of wild fig-trees, called respectively *mumbo* and *mkuyu* (singular of *mikuyu*,—the name is of very wide occurrence throughout Bantu Africa), one of which is appropriated to the spirits of the good and the other to those of the bad; but, as the sentence stands, it is impossible to see which is which. Probably Mr. Hobley meant to write, "*The spirits of the good* do not associate with those of the bad, but *live apart*," etc.,—in which case the *mkuyu* would be their abode. The selection of this tree is a point worth noting; Livingstone (*Last Journals*, vol. i, p. 141) mentions "the wild fig-trees which are always planted at villages in the country west of Lake Nyasa." He remarks,—"*It is a sacred tree all over Africa and India.*" It is always found growing on the *bwalo* or meeting-place of the elders; and this seems to be the case, not only in Bantu Africa, but throughout the west. The Yao custom of placing offerings at the foot of a tree indicates that the spirit is thought of as inhabiting it, but we do not always find the belief stated in a definite form. The miniature huts made for spirits are probably to be found throughout the continent; I have seen them in Nyasaland,—even in villages close to the Blantyre Mission; and they are described by Major Meldon in Ankole, (*Journal of the African Society*, January, 1907). References might be multiplied indefinitely. Another remarkable passage occurs on pp. 89-90:—

"Every married woman is believed to be at the same time the wife of a living man and also the wife of some *Aiimu* or spirit of a departed ancestor. This fully explains what was not at all clear in the earlier stages of this enquiry,

viz. that women are generally used as the vehicles of expression by the *Aïmu*, and the *Aïmu* who is spiritually wedded to any particular woman will often through the mouth of his corporeal wife state his name, and the old people of the village will remark on this when they hear the name, and for instance say, "Oh, yes, that was so and so's great great grandfather."

I do not remember any instance of this belief being previously recorded from any part of Bantu Africa; but it corresponds very closely with the doctrine held on the Gold Coast, as set forth by Prof. Westermann in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*. (The article in question was translated by the Rev. A. Jehle in the *Journal of the African Society*, July, 1907, under the title "Soul, Spirit, Fate," the passage alluded to being found on p. 413). The researches of Profs. Meinhof and Westermann, which have now made it clear or at least probable that the Bantu are an offshoot, touched by Hamitic influence, from the fundamental "negro" stock of a race reaching right across the continent from Cape Verde to Abyssinia, explains the identity of so many features of custom and belief in peoples between whom there is such a distinct line of cleavage as regards speech.

The stories of haunted woods and hills recall similar incidents related to M. Junod by the Baronga;—in all probability they exist everywhere, but the European to whom such things are revealed does not. We cannot resist quoting the passage *in extenso* :—

"At Kibauoni or Gibauoni, a mountain in the east part of Ulu district, there is believed to be a ghost of a bull with only one leg, this is said to have been often seen but when any one approached it, it disappeared. For some years after the cattle disease (rinderpest) swept off nearly all the cattle, of an evening high up on the mountain the people used to hear the lowing of large herds of cattle but could not see them. One day the grass on the mountain caught fire and spread up to an important *Ikembo* or shrine which was under a large sacred *Afumbo* tree and when the fire reached the tree loud shrieks of human beings, bellowing of cattle and bleating of sheep and goats was heard but nothing was visible to the human eye. This throws rather important light on the animistic beliefs of these people as it shows that the A-Kamba believe that the domestic animals possess souls as well as mankind" (pp. 86-7).

Mysterious "half-beings" are of frequent occurrence in African folklore. Mostly they are human or quasi-human; a Chinyanja tale speaks of "a big bird, with one leg, one wing, one eye"; but this is the first case of a one-legged bull that I remember

meeting with. A one-legged spirit figures in the tale related on p. 91:—

"There is a hill called Mukongo between Kilungu and Mwea, some fifteen miles south of Machakos, which is said to be haunted by innumerable *Aiimu*; the place is covered with thick bush and people are afraid to go there. It is related that on one occasion some women went to cut firewood there, and having chopped some sticks they hoisted their loads on their backs and started for home, but before they had reached the edge of the wood their loads were set on fire by the *Aiimu*, so they hurriedly dropped their bundles, unfastened their straps, and fled; and it is said that directly the sticks were dropped they ceased to blaze."

"It is said that if any one in the neighbourhood dies and if, within a few days of his death, a friend of the deceased visits these haunted woods, he may see his dead friend walking about there. I inquired if the deceased ever spoke, but they said that the inquisitive person was usually so terrified that he ran away."

"On one occasion some people made a garden close under this hill and planted it with *wimbi* [small millet, *Elevine coracana*], the grain germinated quite well, but as it grew up instead of bearing grain it all turned into grass, which showed that the *Aiimu* were annoyed at an encroachment on their sacred preserves. The elders then met and discussed the matter and issued orders that no one should in future attempt to cut wood there or cultivate near by." (p. 87.)

The Anyanja have a similar belief as to a spirit-hill (*piri la mizimu*):—

"They hear the sound as of people answering, the baboons lift the pots from their head, Lo! you people, we have heard strange voices and seen strange things, we met with baboons who took the pots from our head; if you chance to go to the hill and come out through the bananas, cut a bunch, eat some, and carry the rest to eat at the village, you find, when you come there, that there is nothing on your head at all, and you are amazed."²

Again:—

"They hear the spirit-drums, *piye! piye!* faintly sounding with repeating notes, and the big drums sounding *pi! pi!* we have heard voices to-day from the other world, the sound of drums; and so they tell the men of age and standing, 'we went to the thicket and heard, but saw no one'; [the elders answer them], 'you had better not go there [again], for you will die'."³

²D. C. Scott, *Cyclopædia Dictionary of the Mang'anja Language* (1892), p. 416.

³*Id.*, *id.*

Mtōro bin Mwenyi Bakar⁴ speaks of a haunted wood at Kolelo in the Nguu country, where the Wadoe go to pray for rain:—

"There is (a place) haunted by spirits (*wenyi maimu*) in the midst of the wood—(it is strewn with) white sand, as if people came there and swept it. And on some days the drum sounds in the wood, and the shrill cries of woman (*viglegale*), as if there were a wedding."

In his Appendix (p. 166) Mr. Hobley gives a further note on the same subject:—

"At the foot of each *Mrimbo* . . . there is a small clearing, a shrine, in fact, where offerings of food are placed; this food is known to be eaten by birds, rats, etc., but it is believed that the *Aiimu* are pleased at this, but a human being dare not eat of any such offering, as it is believed that he and his live-stock would die; in some parts of the country it is laid down that he must not enter the sacred grove wantonly out of mere curiosity,⁵ neither must he go thither alone, but always in company with one or more. If he was to go there alone, he would be fined a bull or five goats by the elders. In Ibefi district it is stated that, should a man unwittingly enter a sacred grove, he would hear voices ordering him to retire from the vicinity, stones also would fall all round him but would not hit him; he would then realize that he had offended the *Aiimu* and would return to his village, and standing outside would announce that he had been chased away by the spirits and ask for *Mayo* [life]. A goat would be killed and the contents of the stomach smeared over his face, hands, and feet, and only after this lustration could he rejoin his fellows. Now this mysterious stone-throwing . . . is said to occur all over India to intruders who trespass in the vicinity of sacred groves, and a curious case was recently related to the author of a European in this country who built a house under a sacred tree and was constantly annoyed at night by stone-throwing on the roof."

This stone-throwing is a common belief in Java, where at least one case, reported to have occurred within the last twenty years, has been considered well authenticated even by Europeans. It is much to be desired that such occurrences should be subjected to competent examination.

Mysterious lights or appearances of fire attributed to the *Aiimu* are mentioned on pp. 86, 87, 167. In Nyasaland it is the wizards (*afiti*), who are supposed to be responsible for these phenomena.

Mr. Hobley gives us a few folk-tales of great interest,—unfor-

⁴ *Safari za Waswahili*, p. 180.

⁵ Cf. the statement of Pausanias as to the ghostly sounds heard at Marathon, I. 32: ἐνταῦθα ἀνὰ πᾶσαν νύκτα καὶ ἡππων χορηγεῖσθαι καὶ ἀνδρῶν μαχομένων ἔστιν αἰσθῆσθαι· καταστῆναι δὲ ἐς ἐναργὴ θεῶν ἐπίκληδες μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι συνήνεγκεν, ἀνηκόη δὲ ὄντι καὶ ἄλλως συμβᾶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν θαυμάτων ὀργῆ.

tunately, only in a free translation, without the original text. The first of these is a curious variant of the well-known chameleon myth told to account for the origin of death. It begins,—“There was once a frog *Chua*, a chameleon *Kimbu*, and a bird called *Iloroko*.” The frog, however, takes no real part in the story, and it is the *Iloroko* who contradicts the chameleon’s message, as the lizard does in the Zulu version. This *Iloroko* is “a small bird of the thrush tribe, with a black head, bluish-black back, and a buff-coloured breast; its Luganda name is *Nyonsa* and Swahili name *Kurumbisi* (*Cossypha imolaens*).” This bird, *kurumbisi*, (or *kurumbisa*, so given by Krapf, *s.v.*), figures in the Swahili tale of “The Carpenter and the Amulet,” (*Folk-Lore*, Dec. 1909, pp. 452, 456). Its note is heard very early in the morning, before the other birds begin, and this introduction into the tale seems designed to explain this circumstance:—

“Engai believed the story of the *Iloroko*, and being very vexed with the way the chameleon had executed his commands, reduced him from his high estate and ordained that ever after he should only be able to walk very slowly, and he should never have any teeth. The *Iloroko* came into high favour, and Engai delegated to him the work of waking up the inhabitants of the world” (p. 108).

Several other points in this story differ from the Zulu, which for our present purpose we may consider the typical version. The frog, the chameleon, and the *Iloroko* were sent out by Engai, not to give the message, “Let not men die,” but “to search for human beings who died one day and came to life again the next day.” When they came to “some people lying apparently dead,” the chameleon “called out to them softly, ‘*Niwe, niwe, niwe.*’” They opened their eyes and listened to him, but the *Iloroko*, who had just declared that their errand was an impossible one, said to them,—“You are dead to this world and must stay where you are, you cannot rise to life again.” The chameleon’s subsequent entreaties were ineffectual; and after he had told his story, on returning to Engai, the *Iloroko*, when asked for his version, “stated that the chameleon was making such a mess of his errand that he felt obliged to interrupt him.”

The hyæna story on p. 109 reminds us of the one current in Nyasaland (with many variants elsewhere), where that animal

changes into a man and courts a girl, who marries him and narrowly escapes with her life. But there are several important differences. (1) No moral is pointed as to the fastidiousness of the girl, who, in the other versions, refuses numerous eligible suitors, to put up with this very "crooked stick" at last. (2) He is discovered and driven away before the marriage takes place. (3) The incident is represented as the starting-point of the hyaena's predatory career—"Now henceforward we will always prowl about at night, and if we can ever seize any of the Wakamba stock we will do so." It also seems intended to account for his Kamba name *mbiti*, (cf. Kikuyu *hiti*, also *impisi*, *fisi*, and other Bantu forms.) The villagers say to him,—“You are not *Muliki*,”—the name he had assumed in his human form,—“but *Mbiti*, because you eat meat raw”—*bithi* (cf. Swahili *-bichi*): a fair instance of popular etymology.

The “Hare and Tortoise” race story (p. 114) is here told of the Tortoise (*Ngw*) and the Fish-Eagle (*Kipalala*),—a bird of which the appearances in Bantu folklore are not very frequent, though Duff Macdonald (*Africana*, vol. ii., p. 354) gives a story in which he is cheated by another bird, but turns the tables on him. Two Hare stories introduce familiar incidents. The trick of planting cows' and goats' tails in the ground and pretending that the animals have sunk, is found in one of the stories collected by Dr. Elmslie (*Folk-Lore*, vol. iii.). The partnership of the lion and hare, the trick by which the latter gets rid of the former, (jumping over a fire), and that by which he (in the second story, p. 115) helps the monkeys to the Kamba crops, the A-Kamba to the Kikuyu women, and the Akikuyu to the Kamba herds, are incidents to which numerous parallels could be found, but space does not permit us to pursue the subject. The first story professes to account for the alleged fact that hares will frequently suck (or, as Mr. Hobley somewhat strangely puts it, “suckle”) cows or other domestic animals when grazing. Mr. Hobley remarks (p. 116):—

“The constant recurrence of these hare stories in native folklore makes one wonder why primitive man should have invested the hare with such extraordinary cunning, for the hare can hardly be said to be a beast which impresses itself greatly on the imagination of civilized mankind.”

The place of the Hare in mythology and folklore is as yet insufficiently investigated, but it seems to us that its undoubted wariness and resourcefulness, combined with its weakness and insignificance, are quite sufficient to strike the popular fancy. In this connection much more might be said, but the subject is one which demands an article to itself.

A. WERNER.

NIGERIAN STUDIES OR THE RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE YORUBA. By R. E. DENNETT. Macmillan, 1910. 8vo, pp. xvii + 232. Map and Ill.

FIVE years ago Mr. Dennett set himself to prove that *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind* there was a religion of a much higher type than fetishism, and that the African was once in possession of a political system highly organized and closely interwoven with these advanced religious beliefs. Mr. Dennett's argument, so far as it has yet been developed, may or may not work conviction in the reader's mind, but it is due to his profound knowledge of the African, based on intense sympathy and on an experience of unusual extent and length, to consider very carefully what he has to say, and at the very least to profit by the numerous facts he records.

In his earlier book he dealt with the Bavili of Luango, and he now gives the results of his study of the Yoruba who occupy the districts of South Nigeria between Dahomey and Benin, and for whom Ellis, in *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, has hitherto been our principal authority. After a few historical notes the *Studies* start with a most interesting illustrated account of the sacred stones at Ife, where "all sorts of people and things are turned to stone" (p. 24), and deities and deceased great ones remain as blocks and pillars of such workmanship that Mr. Dennett conjectures that they were made by a black mason educated by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century. The bulk of the book is then occupied by a description of the heavenly *orishas*, whom Mr. Dennett defines as "deified departed ones" (p. 12), arranged in the order of the corresponding *odus* or palm nuts used in divination and of the seasons. He holds (p. 58) that the Yoruba appear "to connect ideas with which they have surrounded natural phenomena with

personages whose characters seemed to them to fit in with these impressions, and then on the death of these persons to have deified them and gradually to have looked upon them as the cause of the effects produced by these natural phenomena," and he explains clearly their relation to the dignitaries who are their earthly counterparts. The system is too complicated to be set out in our space, but it may be noted that native accounts, here and elsewhere, of the human origin of *orishas* are both contradictory and curiously euhemeristic (e.g. pp. 88-9), so that it is possible that Mr. Dennett relies too much on them in identifying the greater *orishas* or nature-gods with beatified ancestors. On pp. 182-8 there are tables giving for 68 men their *orishas*, their sacrifices, their *ewaws* (or things forbidden), and the tabu in 46 cases against marriage with women having the same *orisha*. The *ewaw* varies from a simple "Not to reveal secrets" to "Dog, pig, roasted yams, *pito* (corn beer), palm wine; may not carry water," and would repay careful study, especially if still more examples could be supplied. It corresponds in only four cases to its possessor's sacrifice, but it has usually some relation to his *orisha*,—e.g. the sheep is *ewaw* to the nine men to whom Oya is *orisha*; palm wine is forbidden to the eight under Orishala etc.; and nut oil is tabued to those under Eshu, who provided the sacred divination nuts. Readers must turn to the book itself for the mass of material on the bull-roarer and male mysteries, secret societies, the four-day week and the explanation of the puzzling fifth day which is also the first of the following week, the native year which originally disregarded the dry season, and fascinating accounts of the life and customs of the fisher, hunter, and farmer. Mention should also be made of the account in chap. xviii. of the native land laws, under which land is inalienable, but can be granted to another member of the community, or even a stranger, for so long as a small acknowledgment is paid to the owner. If the occupier attempts to sell or sublet, or denies the owner's right, he can be ejected at once. The land belongs not to the family but to the father, and can be claimed by his heir so long as there are living trees planted by the father (p. 206). If the farmer has planted no trees and dies away from home, his heir has no rights. Certain trees are planted on earth heaps to serve as boundary marks.

The last chapter sets out Mr. Dennett's views as to the step-by-step development of man from a non-speaking animal existence, and indicates what he considers to be the possible direction of future growth. Whether at the present stage of our knowledge some of his theories seem somewhat fanciful or not, all must agree with him that the wise administrator ought to help the West Coast African upward on natural lines, and must therefore study the condition and thoughts of his people. For such study Mr. Dennett's book is indispensable.

LION AND DRAGON IN NORTHERN CHINA. By R. F. JOHNSTON.

Murray, 1910. Demy 8vo, pp. xiv + 461. Map and Ill.

CHINESE FOLK-LORE TALES. By the REV. J. MACGOWAN.

Macmillan, 1910. Crown 8vo, pp. iii + 197.

CHINESE FOLK-LORE. By the REV. J. MACGOWAN. Shanghai :

North China Daily News and Herald, 1910. 8vo, pp. 3 + 240.

THE shelves of the student of Chinese folklore are already loaded with many volumes,—translations of written texts by Father Weiger, Prof. H. A. Giles, and others, a long row of general works from Doolittle and Dennys onward, and departmental studies, such as De Groot's great volumes on *The Religious System of China*, as well as books of travel and mission work which incidentally preserve folklore. But most travellers' and many missionaries' books record folklore in a very tantalizing manner, without clear notes of source and locality, and both these and the other works mentioned tend to produce erroneous impressions of uniformity throughout the vast area and swarming multitudes of the Middle Kingdom. What is still wanting is a record of the peculiarities of different provinces, in a series of volumes treating of particular districts, and to such a series Mr. Johnston's book is a most valuable contribution, as it deals in a thorough manner with the British protectorate of Wei-hai-wei. The chief exception that can be taken to its contents is that the admirable enthusiasm, which has led the author to note so carefully local practices and customs, has caused him also to devote space, which we grudge, to vehement

protests against criticisms of Confucianism (e.g. pp. 300-17), to defensive expositions of beliefs that are not active in his district, and to continual, and sometimes rather far-fetched, comparisons with Western beliefs. It is odd, for example, to find the Athanasian Creed intruding into a discussion whether the Chinese really credit that an eclipse is caused by a devouring dog or dragon (p. 420). On pp. 295-8 he describes the *han-pa*, a corpse so vitalized by the mourners' tears falling on its flesh as to grow wings with which it attracts all rain from the clouds to its grave, which alone is moist amidst surrounding drought. This he connects with the Highland superstition that weeping hurts the dead and the English prejudice against certain feathers in beds, by way of a Bohemian belief that a drought was caused by burying a corpse with its head on a feather cushion! Perhaps he would regard the chain as strengthened, because the Yoruba must shed tears upon a corpse, and also believe that the dead rise (*Nigerian Studies*, p. 31)?

Mr. Johnston first sets out the physical and historical environment of his district,—a duty too much neglected by collectors, who forget that much folklore must be interpreted by its aid, and that myths and stories are often, as here, told to explain place-names, peculiar rock formations, cliff caves, or the sanctity of some nameless mountain shrine. Then follows a description of litigation before the British Courts, in which we see folk belief and custom in life and action, a particularly interesting account of village life and land tenure, and a discussion of the national drama which suggests that its evolution may have been, as in Japan, from gesture dances commemorating historical events. The close connection between China and Japan is shown most strikingly by many of the customs in this corner of the Shantung Peninsula, and the reader will also be surprised by the amount of folklore of a universal character. He might almost fancy himself dipping into a volume of *County Folklore* as he reads of the burial of amputated limbs, of the Celestial Dog which causes ill-temper in children, of the proverb "From the end of the rod peeps forth a filial son," that mirrors must be covered and cats excluded after a death, and that the house must not be swept at the New Year, when, too, the year's harvest can be foretold. One wishes more had been told about Chinese fortune-telling, the

records of which are still very imperfect, but the statement of the grounds of judgment in *feng-shui* (geomancy) is very full and clear. It appears incidentally that a site of good *feng-shui* is not wasted on the grave of an infant, whose small soul will be powerless in the spirit world to influence the family fortunes, and a like practical aspect of Chinese character is shown by the tunnel driven underneath a temple on the summit of a mountain pass to allow the storm wind to cross without hurting the building (pp. 385-6). Among other subjects on which important additions are made to our knowledge are the mingled motives of the ancestor cult, multiple souls, family graveyards, the relations of a married woman with her father's family (which must guarantee the good conduct of a shrew, p. 200), spring festivals, and lot-drawing as a method of dividing property, while other items of interest in charms, cures, sympathetic magic, etc. are innumerable. To sum up, Mr. Johnston has given us a very readable, thorough, and fully illustrated book on Chinese folklore, and the loving labour by which it has been produced ought to be gratefully acknowledged by a wide circle of readers and buyers.

Dr. Macgowan gives us, perhaps from the same districts as his *Sidelights from Chinese Life*, eleven *Chinese Folk-Lore Tales*. Despite the title, they are not intended for the student, as their sources are not stated, and they are obviously 'written up.' Probably they are derived from oral narratives, as on pp. 99-101 there is a much-damaged version of a well-known tale. Most of the stories, however, are not familiar, and it is a pity that we were not given simple translations with separate notes and explanations, which would have made a far more attractive book.

The same author's *Chinese Folk-Lore* contains "A Chapter on Fairies," and nineteen more tales, and has the same faults as its companion. A number of these stories (e.g. Nos. iii, v, vii, ix, and x), have already been translated from the *Liao Chai Chih I* by Prof. Giles in *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio* (2nd edit., 1909). The misleading term "fairies" ought not to be used to designate Taoist saints and other Chinese immortals. There is much that is new in this volume also, and it is a pity that it is not in a form available for scientific use.

A. R. WRIGHT.

THE NĀGA TRIBES OF MANIPUR. BY T. C. HODSON. Published under the authority of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Macmillan, 1911. 8vo, pp. xiii + 212. Map and 16 ill.

WHEN we examine a new account of a backward tribe in India, which has been little affected by the predominant influence of Brahmanism, we naturally seek for light on some of the questions which now occupy the attention of students of Comparative Religion,—totemism, preanimistic beliefs, and the existence of a superior, non-animistic, often ethical Father, Master, or Maker.

To begin with totemism,—the evidence of its existence among the Nāgas is very slight, and there is no reason to believe that it affects their religious beliefs. The ancestors of the people of Maram, finding that there was some hindrance to their union, had a dream, in which a god appeared to the man and told him he might marry, but only on the condition that henceforth none of his descendants ate pork; accordingly the clan now abstains from it. It is not easy to see how Mr. Hodson finds in this legend "the almost totemistic connection of an animal ancestor with the prohibition against the flesh of the animal." It may be one of the non-totemistic food taboos. The other suggested case of totemism is found in the custom of the Māo Nāgas wearing a sort of tail with its curve turned upwards. Something like a horn is also worn on the helmet, and, while admitting that there may be therio-mimesis in the scheme of decoration, Mr. Hodson thinks that one of the three tails worn may be "a totemistic survival, but three are surely swagger." These examples obviously give no good evidence of the existence of totemism.

The difficulty of investigating the religion of this tribe is obvious. They are in a very low stage of mentality, which is attributed "in part to the narrow limits imposed upon them by the comparative inflexibility of their language, and in part to the absence of exterior stimulations and to the lack of opportunity for enhancing their accumulation of culture." Besides this Mr. Hodson used Meithei, the dialect of their present over-lords, in conversing with them; and he admits it to be possible that this may have led him to think that the hill people "attached the same value to such terms as Deity, soul, or spirit as do the

Meitheis,"—a suspicion which must often have presented itself to other workers among tribes in a similar grade of culture.

They seem to designate a spirit or deity by the word *lai*, which means anything beyond their comprehension; Mr. Hodson's galvanic battery was called *lai-npu*, "divine-box." This *lai* is presumably preanimistic; and Mr. Hodson, speaking of their religious rites, says,—“There are rites which can only be explained as intended to propitiate some Personality capable of being influenced by gifts of good cheer and strong drink”; but there are others “which do not admit of this explanation,” and which (quoting Forbes, *British Burma*, p. 271) seem to be inspired by “a blind dread of the invisible and the unknown, of which they could give no reasonable account to themselves or to others.” Quite in keeping with this syncretism of preanimism and animism, we have the rain god of Maram described as “a man of the village specially cunning in the art of rain making”; “the thunder and lightning which accompany the rain storms in the hills are believed by the Kabuis to be caused by the flash and clang of the massive bracelets on the arms of an unmarried girl, Kidilumai, who dances in heaven, as she danced on earth, for joy at the welcome rain”; and “some of the powers, who fill earth and heaven, and dwell in strange places, are unmistakably the ghosts of the unburied, who are ever on the watch to do some hurt to mankind in vengeance for their unhappy doom.”

Besides these animistic powers, we find a divine Demiurge who is beneficent, and who is said by one clan to carry out his work by the agency of another god, who works under the orders of the Supreme Deity. Mr. Hodson remarks that this conception of a Supreme Deity is found elsewhere in this area. As a rule He “is devoid of colour—he is neither well nor ill disposed towards mankind—to whom he is inaccessible and from whom he receives no gratification of prayer or sacrifice.” He suggests that this Deity is a “metaphysical conception, originating in the desire to find an explanation for the creation of the material world.” At any rate, he seems to have no animistic associations.

The clan ritual of worship is fully described. Among these people, he tells us, “so closely knit are the bonds of society that the religious acts and ideas are themselves an organic part of the

activities of the social body." Their ends are severely practical and material, and are the business not of the individual but of the community, which is represented by the Khullakpa, or hereditary village officer. The Maiba, half doctor and half magician, is a separate and non-hereditary official, while the head of the household acts as priest in all purely domestic worship.

The most interesting institution, in part social and in part religious, is the *genna* or periodical taboo, of which Mr. Hodson gives a valuable account much too intricate to allow of a summary. From his explanations and the facts collected in other volumes of this series we now possess ample material for examining an institution which, so far as I am aware, has no exact parallel in any other part of India.

Mr. Hodson's book is the result of a careful summary of the literature and his own personal researches. It well maintains the standard set by the other volumes in this excellent series of ethnographical handbooks for which we are indebted to the Government of Eastern Bengal.

W. CROOKE.

THE GLORY OF THE SHIA WORLD. The Tale of a Pilgrimage. Trans. and edit. from a Persian Manuscript by Major P. M. SYKES, assisted by KHAN BAHADUR AHMAD DIN KHAN. Macmillan, 1910. 8vo, pp. xiv + 279. 4 col. and 75 other ill.

THIS volume purports to be the life-history of a young Persian of Kerman up to the crowning of his ambition by a pilgrimage to the sacred shrine of Iman Riza, at Meshed, the Glory of the Shia World. We are not concerned here with the form in which Major Sykes has preferred to throw his narrative, nor with the unpleasant stories of cruelty and corruption, which the *soi-disant* native of the country relates so naively. The descriptions of a Persian entertainment, of shooting, and of warlike affairs are very interesting to all readers, and a terrible account of a tragedy in a quicksand is most moving. There is, however, a good deal in this volume which will appeal more particularly to the members

of the Folk-Lore Society. The principal dish in the banquet is, of course, the account of the holy tomb itself, and the various ceremonies on the pilgrimage and at the shrine. The cult of the sacred dead is nowhere more in vogue than in Persia, and the magnificence of the Meshed mausoleum and its surroundings, with the wealth of presents outpoured by pilgrims of every status through the centuries, will give an idea of the pitch to which this kind of adoration can reach. The fact that the Saints thus worshipped were not celibate, like the holy men of Europe, must have had much to do with this state of affairs. It is of immense advantage in this world to the descendants of a great religious personage if they are able to induce others to keep up their pious adherence, and to testify to their piety in the usual concrete form. An account is also given of the holy man whose tomb is in Mahon and who prophesied the Indian Mutiny. The completion of his prophecy, that the English should all be slain, was hampered in advance by the tyranny of Aurangzeb, not only towards the Sikhs, whose Guru was forward with a counter-prophecy, but towards the Shias and Sufis. We find, too, the accentuation of the doctrine that no one can stand alone in the spiritual world without someone else, other than the Deity, to guide him. Moses, according to our author, had to be put under the tutelage of Khwaja Khizr, a sacred person of much renown, sometimes identified with Elijah and in India turned into the tutelary god of the river Indus.

Within the story are woven descriptions of the ceremonies at birth, marriage, and death, and on other occasions, such as the feast of the New Year. This, far more naturally than ours, comes with the advent of spring. The account is very minute, and should be studied in detail, but to give particular instances would necessitate much space. We learn, also, how two cunning men escaped death in the desert, where vampires seize on the soles of sleeping travellers, and suck their blood out. This pair escaped by lying feet to feet, and the vampire, after prowling round and round, departed in despair of a successful attack on a two-headed man. The occasion on which the hero of the volume was robbed in the desolate regions of the Lut was ushered in with adverse omens. One man sneezed just as they were starting, and,

had not the principal merchant of the party been too stingy to pay for another day's hire, they would have halted for twenty-four hours. Further on, a hare crossed their path to the left. They all expected the disaster that followed, yet, with true fatalistic indifference, took little or no precautions to avoid it. The doctrine of fatalism has much to answer for, and yet it was the Prophet himself who said,—“Tie up the knee of thy camel, with thy trust in Allah.” Trust is right, but a hobbled camel cannot stray so easily as one free. The doctrine of a sanctuary, again, is one that lasts long, however repugnant to reason it may be to hear of a villain of the worst kind escaping the proper punishment for his misdeeds, merely because he has taken refuge in a holy place. There are few, however, who adhere more strongly to this custom than the Persians.

The actual rites and ceremonies performed at the Holy of Holies require consideration, but, after all, the inventive genius of mankind in the matter of religious observances is not very great. The genuflexions, prostrations, and kissings of holy articles that are in common practice in the Milan Cathedral, for instance, differ but slightly in kind from those at the tomb of the Eighth Imam, the Glory of the Shia World. Major Sykes has brought out to the full the affection Persians have for quoting poetry on all occasions, and the instances given are extremely apposite. It is customary to find some ground for criticism; but, except that to say that a map is always a welcome addition to a book describing regions somewhat off the beaten track, one can only congratulate the authors on a work of great interest alike to folklorists and the general reader.

AUBREY O'BRIEN.

SHORT NOTICES.

Islandica, Vol. III. *Bibliography of the Sagas of the Kings of Norway, and related Sagas and Tales.* By HALLDÓR HERMANSSON. Cornell University Library, 1910. 8vo, pp. viii + 175.

THIS is a useful and comprehensive bibliography of all tales with any bearing on the history of the kings of Norway from

circa 820 to 1280. No reference is made to Icelandic sagas, a bibliography of which has already appeared in Vol. I.; their inclusion here would have involved much repetition, for the accounts of the emigration and of the visits of Icelanders to Norway, though they sometimes throw sidelights on Norwegian history, vary very little. The arrangement of the material, which includes sagas from Denmark, Sweden, and the Norse settlements, is good and clear. A bibliography of the legendary *Fornaldar Sögur* is promised.

L. W. FARADAY.

Bibliographie National Suisse. Répertoire méthodique de ce qui a été publié sur la Suisse et ses habitants. Fasc. v. (Habitants): 5 (Histoire de la Civilisation et de Folklore): 2^e cahier (2^{de} partie), (including *Sorcellerie et procès de sorcellerie*); 3^e cahier, *Mythes et Traditions.—Légendes. Contes et Fables*; 4^e cahier, *Usages ecclésiastiques et religieux*. Rédigé par le DR. FRANZ HEINEMANN. Berne: K.-J. Wyss, 1909-10. 8vo, pp. xxxvi + 484, xxi + 211, xvi + 195.

A FINE piece of work, carried out on a broad plan. It is easy to criticise details of the scheme of any bibliography, but it would be ungracious to offer anything but praise in return for so valuable a gift to the inquirer as these three volumes, whose contents are arranged according to subject and date, and, where helpful, further divided according to locality. Such a bibliography will be an immense help to the preparation of a definitive Folklore of Switzerland.

The Past at Our Doors: or The Old in the New around us. By WALTER W. SKEAT. Macmillan, 1911. Globe 8vo, pp. xi + 198. Ill.

MR. SKEAT refers to "the almost incredible fact that there is no adequate Folk Museum in this country," and in this freely illustrated brochure gives us a literary substitute for part of such a museum by sketches of the history of many survivals in "common" things connected with food, dress, and our homes.

He considers national dress, in particular, from a racial point of

view, gives much interesting information about the names of meals, foods, table articles, etc., and discusses survivals in our buildings, all in a clear and entertaining manner. The book is an admirable introduction to these parts of the lore of the folk.

Fables and Fairy Tales for Little Folk or Uncle Remus in Hausaland. (First Series). By MARY and NEWMAN TREMEARNE. Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1910. Sm. 4to, pp. iv + 135.

FROM the Hausa animal stories appearing in *Folk-Lore* a dozen of the more suitable have been selected and the literal translations smoothed out for young readers. They are attractively illustrated and admirably fitted to give children at an early age the bias towards folklore which should be such a happiness to them in later life,—and should incidentally bring recruits to the Folk-Lore Society. We wish, therefore, good luck to this First Series, and hope that its popularity will lead to the issue of more selections.

Iroquois Uses of Maize and other Food Plants (New York State Museum, Museum Bulletin 144). By ARTHUR C. PARKER. Albany: Univ. of the State of New York, 1910. 8vo, pp. 119. Ill.

THIS thirty-cent pamphlet deserves perusal by folklorists, as it contains a quantity of matter relating to planting ceremonies, husking customs, special wedding bread, ceremonial foods for dances and "medicine" societies, and husk dolls for magic etc., as well as some folk-tales.

Books for Review should be addressed to
 THE EDITOR OF *Folk-Lore*,
 c/o DAVID NUTT,
 57-59 LONG ACRE, LONDON, W.C.

Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XXII.]

SEPTEMBER, 1911.

[No. III.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17th, 1911.

THE PRESIDENT (MR. W. CROOKE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mrs. Benson, Mrs. Dewar, Mrs. J. Edge-Partington, and Miss E. Richardson as members of the Society was announced.

Dr. Seligmann read a paper entitled "Some Sudanese Beliefs," which was illustrated by lantern slides, and a discussion followed in which Mrs. Spoer, Miss Freire-Marreco, Major O'Brien, Sir G. L. Gomme, Dr. Gaster, Dr. Westermarck, the Rev. J. H. Weeks, and the President took part.

Mr. A. R. Wright exhibited a collection of Ashanti objects, including a number of "gold weights," 16 cast figures on two stands, 2 gold-dust containers and 2 scoops, and 4 vessels for entrails from the tombs of the kings; of the so-called "gold weights," 96 were possibly used for

by the Society; *Filipino Riddles*, by Prof. Starr, presented by the author; *Proverbi, Motti, e Scongiuri del popolo Siciliana*, by Prof. G. Pitre, presented by the author; *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, Vol. 8, Pt. 1, *Ermittlungen über Eingeborenenrechte der Südsee*, and *Das Rechtsleben der Eingeborenen der deutschen Südseeinseln*, both by Dr. R. Thurnwald, presented by the author; *Some words on Allegory in England*, by F. York Powell; *The Sarawak Museum Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 2; *Maïï the Demigod*, by W. D. Westervelt, presented by the author; *List of Ancient Monuments in Burma (Mandalay Division)*, presented by the Government of Burma; *Voices Nouvelles en Science comparée des Religions*, by Dr. Schmidt, presented by the author; *List of Publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, with index to authors and titles; *Chippewa Music, Handbook of American Indians*, and *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, presented by the Bureau of American Ethnology; *The Original Garden of Eden discovered at last*, and *The Discovery of Noah's Ark*, both by J. M. Woolsey, presented by the author; *Lettische Schwänke*, by Prof. Max Böhm, presented by the author; *Yana Texts*, by E. Sapir, presented by the University of California; *Catalogue of the Dante Collection*, University of London, by R. W. Chambers, presented by the University; *Transactions of the Japan Society*, Vols. 8 and 9, presented by the Society; *Analecta Bollandiana*, Vol. 29 and Vol. 30, Pts. 1, 2, and 3, acquired by exchange; *Jahrbuch des Städtischen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig*, 1908-9, Part 3; *Das Artefakt von Olonec und was dazu gehört*, by Otto Hermann; *Bibliographie des Chants populaires Français*, by De Beaurepaire Froment; *Nigerian Studies*, by R. E. Dennett; and *Religionen der Naturvölker Amerikas*, 1906-1909, by K. Th. Preuss;—presented by the respective authors.

ON THE ALLEGED EVIDENCE FOR MOTHER- RIGHT IN EARLY GREECE.

BY H. J. ROSE, EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD.

IN this paper I propose to deal briefly with the question whether we can regard as certain or probable the existence in early Greece of that form of social organization commonly known as Mother-Right. It will be worth while also to notice any cases of apparent exogamy, for the two frequently, though not invariably, occur together. The reason, no doubt, is simply this.¹ Given a clan which normally seeks mates from outside, it will naturally desire to retain a hold over its daughters and their offspring, and also not to let its young men go too far away. Hence arises that very early form of the family in which the wife does not leave her old home but stays there with her children, being simply visited by the husband. In other words, the matrilinear family is originally matrilinear. This system is incompatible, or nearly so, with endogamy and with polygyny, and polyandry does not necessarily imply it.² Finally, it does not involve any such condition as promiscuity or even group-marriage, and it is not what it is so often confused with, namely, gynæocracy. Under mother-right no preference is shown to women in general over men in general, although the wife is often more important than her husband. What it does imply is

¹ See Prof. Tylor's article, *Nineteenth Century*, July, 1896, pp. 81-96.

² Thus the polyandrous Todas are patrilinear.

inheritance, of name, property, title, totem (frequently), and in general membership in clan or family, through the mother and not through the father. But the head of the clan or family is not normally the mother, but the senior male on the distaff side. In Dr. Frazer's words there is *avunculi potestas*, not *patria potestas*. The father is less important than the mother, partly because he is an outsider, (by the workings of exogamy), and partly because his wife and children are not his property, but his brother-in-law's. He in turn is the over-lord of his sister, and her husband and children. Perhaps the most far-reaching result of this arrangement is seen in certain royal families where, descent being through the female, the heir to the throne is the son, not of the reigning king, but of the queen-sister, even though her husband be a commoner; a state of things whereof Africa gives us some noteworthy examples. To sum up:—Mother-right, while leaving power in the hands of the men as a whole, not the women as a whole, gives the wife in each individual family a certain precedence over her husband; while in matters of inheritance the important question is not, Who is So-and-So's father? but, Who is his mother?

This paper deals only with Greek evidence; hence I do not treat such matters as the reports of something like mother-right among various Mediterranean peoples, such as the Cantabri in Spain or the doubtfully Aryan Lycians. Neither is it pertinent to ask whether mother-right existed among the pre-Hellenic inhabitants of the Greek peninsula, the neighbouring islands, and the Asiatic coast. It may be safely assumed that the Greeks did not on their arrival adopt mother-right if they found it, for the simple reason that all over the world father-right is the more stable institution, and any change from one system to the other is invariably in its direction. A patrilinear people never becomes matrilinear; the opposite often happens. The enquiry is limited to those races, known to us under the

general name of Hellenes, who, somewhere in the second millenium B.C., entered the lands which they occupied in historical times.

*Religion, Cult-legends, and Ritual.*³

(1) Minoan Crete. I include this because it is just possible that the population was in some sense Hellenic, or that their customs may have lingered on into later times. Here, side by side with what looks like hero-worship, we find evidences of the adoration of a great goddess, probably one of those countless personifications of the Earth who, variously styled Ma, Artemis of Ephesos, Gaia, Terra Mater, and what not, meet us at every turn in the Mediterranean region. But of a god we see little; a gem or two show us a small figure coming apparently through the air to pay his respects to the great goddess. Here we have what might seem to be a "matriarchal" family reflected in heavenly society. No such explanation, however, is necessary. Starting with a goddess so powerful and so prolific as the All-Mother, her worshippers would sooner or later introduce, as the father of her numerous progeny, some god,—perhaps one already existing, perhaps merely a male doublet of the goddess, like the consort of the Winged Artemis shown on an ivory plaque from Sparta.⁴ Whoever he was, the importance of his consort would inevitably dwarf him. Thus even Apollo, at Ephesos, follows humbly in the train of his great sister,—a proceeding as much at variance with matrilinear as with patrilinear customs. In any case, to draw sociological conclusions from religious beliefs and practices is always a

³ In this section most of my material comes from a paper of Dr. Farnell's in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, Bd. vii., p. 70, ("Sociological hypotheses concerning the position of women in ancient religion"). I take this opportunity of acknowledging my deep indebtedness to him here and elsewhere. Mr. R. R. Marett has also made several valuable suggestions.

⁴ See *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xxix. (1909), p. 292.

hazardous course ; it does not follow that, because a people chiefly worship a goddess, they treat mortal women with particular respect or reckon descent through them ; cf. the supremacy of Hera in patrilinear Argos, and the popularity of the Virgin in southern Europe.⁵

(2) Passing now to beliefs certainly Greek we come to the curious cult-titles of Zeus, 'Ἡραῖος (Attica) and 'Αφροδίσιος (Cyprus). Do these imply a subordination of Zeus to these goddesses ? Considering that all we know of him,—in mythology from Homer and Hesiod onwards and in his ancient cult at Dodona, where his importance reduces his wife to that pale etymological shadow, Dione,—points to father-right and inheritance through the male, this explanation seems hazardous at least. The true reason for these titles is no doubt the presence in important temples of Hera and Aphrodite of small shrines of the god. Cf. Athena *Αλαντίς* at Megara, and Herakles 'Ἡραῖος. Such a practice is as common as the tendency to exalt the deity of a particular temple, or the god one is addressing at the moment, over all others, of which Babylonian hymnology, to go no farther, gives us abundant examples.

(3) In the case of certain goddesses and heroines we find what might be considered a matrilinear family. We hear of several children of divine mothers with either no fathers or none of any importance. (a) Earth giving birth to the Giants. This we may set aside, as she was fertilized by the mutilation of Uranos. (b) The birth of Hephaistos without father from Hera (*Theogony*, 927). (c) Parthenopaios, son of Atalanta (?=Artemis) and the rather insignificant Milanion. The second case proves nothing about family organization, human or Olympian. It is interesting as possibly going back to a remote period when, like certain modern savages, the Greeks either were ignorant of the part played by the male in procreation or did not regard

⁵ On the other hand, not a few matrilinear Australian tribes exclude women from their religious ceremonies.

it as essential,—a belief by no means inconsistent with father-right. The third is one of a number of stories of the frailties of the goddesses (*e.g.* Eos, Demeter, Kalypso, Kirke, Euterpe, Kalliope, Aphrodite). We must note that the offsprings of such unions do not inherit the divine rank of their mothers, and are thus worse off than some of the sons of gods and mortal women, for Dionysos, Hermes, Apollo, and Artemis all inherit the divinity of Zeus.

(4) Ritual gives us a few facts suggesting an importance of women hardly consistent with father-right. (a) Exclusion of men from certain cults, such as the Thesmophoria, the worship of the *Γενετύλλιδες Κολιάδες*, of Dionysos of Brasiai in Lakonia, and finally of Ares *Γυναικοθόινας* at Tegea.⁶ (b) Prominence of women in the rites of Hestia (Athens, Delphi), and the Mother of the Gods (Arkadia), and at prophetic shrines (Delphi, Branchidai, etc.). (c) Priestesses in the service of male deities and heroes (Poseidon at Kalaureia, Sosipolis at Elis, Herakles at Thespiæ, etc.). Most of these cases are easy to deal with. The Thesmophoria and the rites of the *Μήτηρ θεῶν* and the *Γενετύλλιδες* are all connected with the fertility either of the soil or of men and animals, or both; and this from time immemorial has been women's magic. As to Dionysos' female votaries, official and otherwise, and the frequent, though by no means invariable, occurrence of prophetesses and not prophets, these arise from the simple physiological fact that women are more excitable and nervous than men, and so become "possessed" or "inspired" more readily. In the case of Hestia, who is simply the personified hearth-fire, a household under father-right may regard such a deity *either* as of too great importance to be worshipped by anyone less than the house-father,—(Vedic and Iranian view: but Agni is a much greater person than Hestia),—*or* as belonging, like

⁶ I omit the Oriental and comparatively late worship of Adonis.

fertility-magic, to the women's department, because the women mostly tend the fire and cook at it. This was the Greek and the Roman view, and expresses itself in the public worship of Hestia and of Vesta. Priestesses serving male deities may possibly be a relic of some sort of *ἱερός γάμος* like that at Athens between Dionysos and the wife of the King-archon. Perhaps, *e.g.*, the priestess of Poseidon was originally his wife; such practices are common enough outside Greece. The counterpart of this is, what we not infrequently find, men in the service of goddesses. Neither involves, though neither is inconsistent with, mother-right. But *Ἀρης Γυναικοβοίνας* is more noteworthy. His worship, says Pausanias,⁷ is the result of a battle between the Tegeans and an invading Spartan force, in which the Tegean women intervened and won the day. One thinks naturally of the Amazons, also connected with Ares, of warlike heroines like Althaia,⁸ and, outside of Greek folklore or history, of the importance of the women in Iroquois war-councils. But it is worth noting, first, that there is nothing impossible or even improbable in Pausanias' tale, for, in a hard fight such as he describes, the intervention of a body of desperate and sturdy women, —and Peloponnesian women were no weaklings,—armed with the men's spare weapons, may well have proved too much for the invading Laconians; secondly, that as to the exclusion of men from the commemorative rite, even if we do not accept the story, a ritual tabu is a very poor foundation for a sociological theory. Such prohibitions mostly spring either from some notion about the deity's personal likes and dislikes or from purely local and accidental causes; and in the Greek world they include such oddities as the occasional forbidding of the use of wine in Dionysiac rites and the exclusion of women from

⁷ VIII., xlviii., 4, 5.

⁸ Apollodoros, I., viii., 1; αὐτὴ ἡνέχκει καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ἔσκει, ("She was her own charioteer, and practised warlike arts").

the temple of that *vert galant* Herakles at Gades,—in “matriarchal” Spain. Incidentally, with reference to the Amazons, we may note that the only ones we know much about,—those of Dahomey,—are the women of a huge patrilinear royal family.

Traditional genealogies etc.

Many of these are late, and a large part of them is doubtless pure invention. Still, taking them as containing a modicum of historical fact, it has been pointed out:—

1. That most of them are rather short. Thus, Hekataios of Miletos had to go back only fifteen generations from about the beginning of the fifth century B.C. to find a divine ancestor; *i.e.* a man of noble family, presumably a skilled herald with a herald’s knack of inventing ancestors, could not trace his line further back than about 1000 or 1050 B.C.,—almost within historical times. The average hero of mythology is decidedly *θεῶν ἀγχιστοπος*; *e.g.* Achilles is in the third, and Orestes in the fifth, generation from Zeus; and, generally, few families go back more than two or three generations from the siege of Troy. Does this mean that no more male ancestors could be found, *i.e.* that before 1100 or 1200 B.C. or so, in the traditional chronology, descent counted through the female? This theory, however, is met by a serious difficulty; why, among the numerous cults of heroic ancestors, do we hear so little of heroines; and, especially, why are few, if any, tribes or clans called after them?

2. In several royal families⁹ the son seems to rule anywhere but in his father’s kingdom. Thus, for the Pelopidai, we have Tantalos lord of Sipylos, Pelops of Pisa, Atreus of Mycenae, and Menelaos of Sparta. Does this indicate a matrilinear system with exogamy? Leaving out Menelaos,—for he and his brother shift bewilderingly between Mycenae,

⁹ Cf. Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, pp. 238 *et seq.*

Argos, Sparta, and Amyklai,¹⁰ we get Pelops inheriting from his father-in-law, and resembling in this respect Teucer, Kekrops, Amphiktyon, Deiphontes, and sundry other heroes. We might also notice Oedipus as a possible example of the marriage of near relations to avoid this inheritance passing out of the direct male line, a device of which Egypt gives us some examples; and the less unnatural union, on matrilinear principles, of Rhadamanthys, son of Zeus, with Alkmene,¹¹ as indicating that connection through the father amounted to little. Finally, we have, among a crowd of patronymics, at least one matronymic, Μολίων or Μολιονίδης. This however goes for little; the sons of Molione were also called Ἀκτορίδες from their father, and in any case their paternity was doubtful.¹² As to Rhadamanthys and Alkmene, connection through a god hardly counts; while Oedipus' ill-fated marriage is regarded as unpardonable although unconscious incest. The tales of Pelops and other such adventurers are the Greek form of that world-wide *märchen* of the young man seeking his fortune who wins the daughter, and generally the inheritance also, of some potentate. If these prove mother-right for Greece, they prove it for the whole world, and few would I think go to that length. When we come to look at the local colour of the Greek myths,¹³ we continually find evidences of patrilinear ideas. The foreigner succeeds to the kingdom for special reasons, such as the old king's affection for him (Deiphontes), or the absence of a male heir to the throne (Pelops); or he does not succeed to it at

¹⁰ See the Introduction to Headlam's edition of *Aesch. Agam.*

¹¹ Apollodoros, II., iv., 11.

¹² Apollodoros, II., vii., 2; Μολίωνος καὶ Ἀκτορος ἐλέγοντο δὲ Ποσειδῶνος, ("sons of Molione and Aktor, but said to be sons of Poseidon").

¹³ Many of them may reflect actual history. The leader of a small conquering force must often have ingratiated himself with the conquered by marrying into the old royal house. Notice that Deiphontes (*Pausanias*, vol. II., c. xix., 1, 2) has to encounter the violent opposition of Temenos' sons. William of Orange was in a not dissimilar position in England.

all, but simply carries off his bride (Jason, Perseus; the latter leaves his first-born son with Kepheus).¹⁴ Never, so far as I know, does anyone inherit from his mother's brother to the exclusion of his cousins, which is the typical matrilinear inheritance; while one hero at least, Meleager, kills his maternal uncles without anyone save his mother feeling any particular abhorrence of the deed.

One instance of the relations between son-in-law and father-in-law is especially interesting. Of the murder of Deioneus by Ixion Pindar says (Pythagoras, II., 32) ἐμφύλιον αἷμα πρῶτος οὐκ ἄτερ τέχνης ἐπέμψε θνατοῖς, ("he was the first who, by his craft, brought kinsman-slaughter among mortals"). How could this be so on any system of family organization? The only explanation which seems at all likely,—since marriage never takes a man out of his clan,—is that Deioneus was his blood-relation. *I.e.*, the legend indicates, if anything, endogamy, and therefore presumably father-right.

Clan organization.

What is the meaning of the elaborate division of the Athenians and their Ionian kinsmen into Geleontes, Hopletes, Aigikoreis, and Argadeis, and the further Attic subdivisions¹⁵ into 12 phratries and 360 gentes? Is this a Greek equivalent of the Australian four-class exogamous system, (a system of 360, or even 12, classes is hardly likely!)? Are the three Dorian tribes (Hylleis, Pamphyli, Dymanes) a similar arrangement of the less common odd-numbered type? So far as I know there is not a shred of material for an affirmative answer; we hear of the ἀγχιστεῖς

¹⁴ Apollodoros, II., iv., 2. Kepheus had no heirs male, and by Greek ideas would naturally want to retain a θυγατρίδης ("daughter's son") in their stead. I suggest that, when the kingdom is inherited, it is because the princess is what Attic law called an ἐπίκληρος, *i.e.* a woman whom the heir was obliged to marry (*vid. inf.*).

¹⁵ Pollux, viii., III.

or next of kin having to marry the *ἐπικληρος* if she were not of the same mother as himself, but nothing to indicate that, e.g., Argadeis might not marry Argadeis or Pamphyli with Pamphyli. We simply do not know how or why the *φύλαξ* came into being. Within the phratries it is noteworthy that great stress was laid on the descent in the female line of candidates for membership, and that the *φυλεταί* called themselves *δομογάλακτες* ("milk-brothers"), whatever exactly that term may mean; for they can hardly have claimed all to be children or foster-children of the same woman.¹⁶ Compare also the elaborate account of the ancestry on the distaff side of the persons mentioned in the Coan inscription, (Platon and Hicks, 368); the prohibition of marriage between *δομομήτριοι* but not between *δομοπάτριοι*; and Lykaon's appeal (Φ 95) *μή με κτείν' ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὁμογάστριος Ἑκτορός εἰμι* ("Slay me not, since I am not from the same womb as Hector"). The reason for all these is to be found, not in mother-right, but (a) in Greek notions of morality, which, especially among the Dorians, did not insist on a husband's fidelity. Probably the tribal authorities often had to deal with an attempt to palm off a favourite illegitimate child as being *ἐξ ἀστῆς ἐγγυητῆς*, ("born of a citizeness in lawful wedlock"). The father's word could be taken readily enough, as he would scarcely represent another man's child as his own; but it was only natural that searching enquiries should be made as to the mother. (b) In the fact that children of mixed marriages, e.g. between an Athenian and a woman of Megara, while in our sense they might be legitimate, could not be citizens. (c) In the world-wide idea that the closest of all relationships is that between children of the same mother, if only because one can be absolutely certain of it. No sociological arrangements can do away with such a belief.

¹⁶ Dr. Farnell suggests, and I think rightly, that the word (*δομομήτριοι*) meant originally the legitimate children of a particular man, as distinct from his bastards, who would still be *δομοπάτριοι* with each other and with the *γενεαί*.

Nomenclature, marriage customs, etc.

(1) It is well known that a Greek was frequently named after his paternal grandfather. This, as Dr. Frazer points out,¹⁷ is true also of the Haidas of North America, and is a direct result of their belief in reincarnation combined with their matrilinear exogamy. Each of their two clans possesses a certain number of personal names peculiar to its members. Father and son are necessarily of different clans, and therefore grandson and paternal grandfather are of the same clan. So, when it comes to deciding which of the clan-spirits is reincarnate in the boy, that of the paternal grandfather is generally chosen,—few savages live to see their sons' sons,—and the baby is named accordingly. But the same custom might well arise simply from a belief in reincarnation; in that case the paternal grandfather would be chosen as the most important recently-dead member of the father's clan.

(2) Perhaps the most noteworthy marriage custom comes from Attica. Pollux¹⁸ tells us that on the third day of the marriage (*ἀπαύλια*) the bridegroom left his bride and went to his father-in-law's house, remaining there over-night. The bride on the same day sent him a cloak (*χλαῖς ἀπαυλιστηρία*). At first sight this seems like a ceremonial reminiscence of the times when the bridegroom would go to live permanently with his wife's people,—i.e. of matrilinear organization. But why in that case does the bride not accompany him? A more probable suggestion is that of Mr. Marett, that the visit is the ceremonial taking off of a tabu. The parents-in-law may have been originally *hlonipa* to their son-in-law. But the gift is a puzzle; why should it come from bride to groom? Another clear case of a tabu connected with marriage is the Argive

¹⁷ *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. iii., p. 298.

¹⁸ iii. 39. I have to thank Dr. Farnell for calling my attention to this piece of evidence, which I believe is new.

custom by which the bride wore a false beard in the marriage chamber. This is one of those curious ceremonial assumptions of the opposite sex which occur in connection not only with the sex-tabu itself, but with tabus in general,—in fact whenever the spiritual atmosphere is felt to be rather electrical. So, not only in Greece,¹⁹ but among the patrilinear Mohammedan Bangola of Northern Africa, we find male mourners wearing female attire in the dangerous presence of the dead.

The Opuntian Locrians.

Polybios, XII., v. 16, gives us the following important information,—πάντα τὰ διὰ προγόνων ἔνδοξα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ("all their hereditary nobility came from their women, not their men"). This certainly looks at first sight like matrilinear inheritance of rank, but the next sentence shows that no such inference is necessary,—οἷαν εὐθέως, εὐγενεῖς παρὰ σφίσι νομίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν οἰκιῶν λεγομένους ("Take for instance the fact that the members of the Hundred Houses are considered noble"). These Hundred Houses were those which supplied the yearly maiden tribute to Athena of Ilion, (u. Lykophron 1141 *et seq.* and Holzinger's note *ad loc.*). Their only patent of nobility seems to have been the prestige conferred on them by the sacred character of the women eligible for this rather unpleasant honour. When some of these women emigrated with other colonists to Italy they not unnaturally founded a nobility there. Polybios, be it noted, although telling us that the nobility in question was hereditary (διὰ προγόνων), says, not that it descended through, but that it came from (ἀπὸ) the women, *i.e.* the men of each successive generation were nobles

¹⁹ It has been suggested absurdly enough, that men dressed as women because only women were akin to the dead under mother-right; as if a brother, for instance, were not akin to his sister by that or any other system!

because their sisters, by right of birth, might be dedicated to Athena.

Traditions (?) of a time before father-right.

(1) We may dismiss at once all statements to the effect that marriage was unknown at such-and-such a place until, say, Kekrops introduced it. This is either,—(a), pure folklore in one of its best-known forms,—the ascribing of any great social, religious, or economic institution to a single inventor. That the Athenians were promiscuous before Kekrops is as true, or as false, as that they were wholly ignorant of agriculture before Triptolemos and had no draught-cattle before Buzyges. Or, (b), it is the theory of primitive promiscuity, no less a theory and no more a fact because stated by an anthropologist who lived some 2000 years ago. Anyone who has read Lucretius or Ovid knows how much in favour this theory was among Greek scientists.

2. Varro, *ap. August. de civ. Dei*, xviii., 9, tells a curious tale about the strife of Athena and Poseidon for the possession of Attica. Kekrops lays the question before an assembly of the men and women of Athens “*mos enim tunc in eisdem locis erat ut etiam feminae publicis consultationibus interessent...* Consulta igitur multitudine mares pro Neptuno feminae pro Minerua tulere sententias, et quia una plus inuenta est seminarum, Minerua uicit.” Poseidon then floods the country, and the men inflict a three-fold punishment on their women, “*ut nulla ulterius ferrent suffragia, ut nullus nascentium maternum nomen acciperet, ut ne quis eas Athenaeas uocaret.*” This story probably comes ultimately from Philochoros or some such writer. That it is not earlier than the fourth century is, I think, exceedingly likely from the fact that Aristophanes says nothing about it in the *Ekklesiazousai*, and two-thirds of it,—the statements that Attic women used to have the vote and that they were not called Athenians,—are rubbish. The rest seems to be a late aetiological

myth presupposing, (a), the promiscuity hypothesis, and (b), its logical corollary, that names must have come originally from the mother, the father being unknown or uncertain. Incidentally the story would "explain" why the Athenians' chief deity is a female, and why the usual feminine of 'Αθηναῖος is 'Αθηῖς and not 'Αθηναία. Such mixtures of bad folklore and worse science were popular with ancient sciolists.

Such are, I think, all the facts from which a reasonable case for mother-right could be made out. An impartial criticism,—indeed, the writer started rather prejudiced in favor of the theory,—shows every one of them at least susceptible of another explanation, while some actually point the other way. Examples of how ungrounded are the hypotheses of some supporters of Greek mother-right may be found abundantly in the works of that entertaining and deservedly popular writer, Prof. Ridgeway. In his ingenious article, for instance, called "Who were the Dorians?"²⁰ he seeks to show a connection between the Dorians and Thraco-Illyrians, one argument being that both were matrilinear. To prove this he quotes, for the latter, Herod., i., 196, which merely shows that the Veneti bought their wives; Herod., v., 5 and 6, which mentions the immorality of Thracian girls, but adds that the people were polygynous and "keep their wives very close,"—both customs of father-right; and a third passage, which indicates that the Agathyrsi had some sort of group-marriage. Not one of these quotations even hints at mother-right, and one disproves it. For the Dorians, he has no difficulty in showing that a Spartan wife was not always expected to remain faithful to one husband,—a natural enough condition of affairs when the husbands were so often away on campaign and warriors were desperately needed,—and even that something like polyandry was practised. But

²⁰ In *Anthropological Essays presented to Prof. Tylor etc.*

one of his own quotations (Xenoph., *Rep. Lac.*, i. 9)²¹ clearly shows that only the children of the husband were fully legitimate, and the story of the Parthenioi proves as much. Hence, so far as they go, his authorities show that neither the Dorians nor their problematical northern kinsfolk were matrilinear at all. The other arguments have already been dealt with in this paper, except one which rests on an accidental misreading of Pausanias. Still worse is the same author's attempt to prove²² that the Aeschylean Danaïdes were matrilinear, for he stultifies his argument at the outset by saying that they regard as incestuous the proposed marriage with the sons of their paternal uncle, who by mother-right would not be even remotely akin to them nor members of the same tribe.

That the Greeks never in remote antiquity had any sort of mother-right is a proposition which I am not interested to defend; but if anyone holds that in historical or quasi-historical times any Hellenic tribe was matrilinear, the *onus probandi* rests on him, and is likely to prove a burden too grievous to be borne.

H. J. ROSE.

²¹ αἱ τε γὰρ γυναῖκες διττοὺς οἴκους βούλονται κατέχειν αἱ τ' ἄνδρες ἀδελφούς τοῖς παῖσι προσλαμβάνειν· οἱ τοῦ μὲν γένους καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως κοινωνοὶσι, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων οὐκ ἀντιποιεῦνται, ("For the women wish to be mistresses of two households and the men to provide their children with new brothers"; (R.'s translation of this odd phrase is wildly impossible), "who share in the family and its power, but make no claims to the property"). The arrangement sprang from a desire for a large family combined with a dislike to dividing the estate.

²² *The Origin of Tragedy*, pp. 191 *et seq.*

HAMPSHIRE FOLKLORE.

BY D. H. MOUTRAY READ.

(Read at Meeting, February 15th, 1911.)

I. Topographical Conditions.

WHEN I was first asked to put together a paper on Hampshire Folklore the initial difficulty that presented itself was how the very miscellaneous mass of notes on the subject, that were the outcome of four years' reading, talking, and touring about the county, was to be marshalled into something more than a mere list. In the end I have ordered them for you mainly after the fashion that I came by them, as adjuncts of the country-side itself,—for this paper does not pretend to be other than a rough scaffold that may serve to aid more expert workers to build a fair structure of the folklore of a county hitherto singularly neglected in such collections.

It is probable that topographical conditions have no little to answer for in this connection. There is a marked diversity to be found in the Hampshire people, in its scenery, vegetation, and geology. The north-east corner falls within the area of the Thames Valley, the London Basin. From south-east to north-west stretch the great backbone and ribs of the chalk Downs, shelving in the south to the alluvial mud-flats of the coast and the gravels of the Southampton Basin. These conditions give us furze and heather-clad moorland, pine-growing country, grassy uplands with beech woods hanging on their rounded flanks, and the varied moor and woodland of the New Forest. In

addition to this the river valleys are not the least characteristic features, and from every point of view the waterways are of real import. To conclude, as if all this did not give sufficient diversity, there is the Isle of Wight, "*the Island*" to-day, as it was when Maria and Julia Bertram took exception to Fanny Price so distinguishing it.

With all this natural variety to influence the custom and character of the inhabitants, Hampshire possesses historical records as varied as any shire in the kingdom. In a county said to have only one level straight mile within its limits, with deep valleys, wide-stretched forests, marshland, moor, and meadow, each succeeding flood of invasion swept up, drove its predecessor before it, and was in turn submerged by the next. But its traces were left. You may find them to this day in the people themselves, the unmistakeable types and mixture of types, in the place-names, and above all in the legends, customs, sayings, and beliefs of the Hampshire folk.

It may be that there are few beliefs and customs peculiar to the county. The strange thing would be were it otherwise in face of Hampshire's position in our island's story. But, undoubtedly, there should be a rich harvest for the comparative folklorist. Yet the very conditions that promise this richness make against a successful harvesting. Hampshire folk are notoriously uncommunicative. Nor is this to be wondered at. Go and dwell among the majestic solitudes of the Downs, and see if flippant speech comes trippingly to the tongue. Along the beaten tracks, in the neighbourhood of the great highways that have traversed the county from prehistoric times, the old customs, the superstitions, and tales of yore have been thrust aside, spurned under hurrying feet, and buried past reclaim beneath the mass of superfluous ignorances modern civilization turns out under the label "Education." But get away from the dusty high-road, the railway, and the bustle of to-day, and within a mile or two you may hap upon

echoes of long-past yesterdays in nooks and corners singularly untouched, thanks in large measure to the configuration of the country.

Take, for instance, two villages near the eastern border, Hawkley and Colmore, within some four miles of two railway lines, and close to the military camps in what was Woolmer Forest. It is only four years since I stayed at Hawkley, and was told "there be folk in Colmore as have never been to Hawkley." Yet they lie but some three or four miles apart; only the intervening country is a jumble of rough hill, rougher roads, and narrow valleys.

All this tends to isolation. Such topographical conditions must influence permanently the county's lore.

Most marked of all, to my thinking, has been the influence of the woodlands. Hills and rivers, after all, exert mainly a negative influence. The high wood has always an active one. Hampshire ranks now among the foremost counties of England in the matter of arboreal wealth. In bygone times the afforestation was much greater. We may expect then to find abundant traces of customs possibly, probably, and in some cases obviously, due to woodland and forest surroundings.

Windsor Forest swept over the northern border towards the Forest of Chute that ran from Wiltshire down to Harewood Forest on the western bank of the Test; the great Andredesweald reached within a few miles of Winchester itself; and wild forest stretched over Lymington when Vespasian, after he had subdued the Isle of Wight, landed at the Alaunian Wood. Proof this last, if proof be needed, of the animosity of the old monks who later on evolved the legend of the Norman king laying waste the smiling country-side to make a wilderness for his pleasuring. That very neighbourhood, with Setley's bare Plain and Beaulieu Heath, where even the heather wins but precarious nourishment from the infertile soil, must have formed part of the cultivated lands which, according to those prejudiced

romancers, supplied the capital with corn! The tale of the ruthless king lingers yet, and oral tradition is not alone responsible for its longevity.

Of these immemorial forests we have to-day the still wide area of the New Forest. The Forest of Bere is now practically non-existent, but Woolmer is more wooded, with its modern pine plantations, than it was when White of Selborne knew it as a "sandy waste." Alice Holt and Buckholt, two small forests to the north-west of Woolmer, show older timber,—mainly oak. Windsor Forest no longer touches the county, but it has left some wild remnants at Pamber, and there are traces of the old rough foresters in the people thereabouts. Kingsley noticed the same at Eversley, and you will find it to-day on the outskirts of Pamber Forest, about Tadley,—*"God-save-us-Tadley,"* as it is called in consequence of the amazed exclamation of a villager when a balloon descended in the vicinity something like a century ago. The lord of the manor of Pamber enjoyed hunting rights throughout Windsor Forest. He was elected yearly by the assembled tenants. *"The parishioners here were... free franchisers, and were never held under any feudal tenure."*¹ At Ibthorpe in the north-west corner, once comprised in the Forest of Chute, the commoners are themselves the lords of the manor, and both owners and occupiers have rights on the two commons, and everything growing thereon, for their own use, but not for sale. Charlotte Yonge noted similar tenures at Merdon, which manor is among the nine in Hampshire with Borough-English law of inheritance.

I might mention that the son of a local landowner told me that *"hearth-right tenures"* obtain to this day in the New Forest. He pointed out a ruin with patched chimney, repaired just enough to permit the yearly fire to be kindled that would make good the holder's title to the land. This was near Fritham and Bramshaw. I was further told that

¹ Kelly, *County Topographies, Hampshire*, p. 244.

in rebuilding houses on land so held the old hearth must be retained or the rights lapse.

II. Influence of the High Woods.

It will be remembered that Gilbert White, writing of Woolmer Forest, mentions two "bowers, made of the boughs of oaks," which "the keepers renew annually on the feast of St. Barnabas." "This custom" he considered "to be of very remote antiquity."² That it is so seems to me past controversy, and it is to be regretted that White did not give further details of the custom before it fell into disuse, for I have never found reference to it in any other book. But Miss Burne, in her Presidential Address last year, spoke of the "bowery" erected for sports at Woodstock, and readers of Miss Mitford's *Our Village* will recall how in "Bramley Maying" she describes the "May-houses to dance," built of green boughs by the lads and lasses of the neighbouring parishes. Bramley, be it remembered, is the parish adjoining Pamber on the east, and therefore well within the old forest districts. Again, John Duthy mentioned the summer "Maying on the Nithe" at Alresford, on the outskirts of what has been a considerably wooded tract. Unfortunately he was more concerned with bewailing "the clumsy, dull, imitation of an English peasant" as compared with the dancing of those on "the banks of the Loire, or the Garonne," than in recording the local custom beyond the fact that the assembled villagers danced together in festive array,—breeding "a vain and pernicious love of finery," bemoans our author (*Sketches of Hampshire*, 1839, pp. 111-2).

There is, however, even more recent evidence of the continuance of such customs at St. Mary Bourne, a village in a deep valley that runs up into the heart of the Downs in the north-west,—that is to say, to Chute Forest. Writing towards the end of the last century, Dr. Stevens, the local

² *The Natural History of Selborne*, Letter vii.

historian, states that there were aged people who could remember when the Summerhaugh was decorated with green boughs for the May dancing. The maypole was erected here for *Whitsuntide* revels. At Hurstbourne Tarrant, (locally Uphusband), a few miles further up the Bourne valley, the maypole existed some sixty years ago. It was "painted white, with a spiral coil of blue round it from base to apex." The festivities were held here a week after the St. Mary Bourne Revels in July.

The May Day festival at St. Mary Bourne lingers on as "Garland Day,"³ when the children carry round garlands and beg, but in most places the May Day revels now are rather official than spontaneous. At Hursley the children's song was edited about sixty years ago by the vicar, John Keble, and the words they sing are practically his.

At Otterbourne, where the name "Maypole Field" survives, Miss Yonge recorded the children's chant:—

"April's gone! May's come!
Come and see our garland."

The last line is very generally sung. In the neighbourhood of Hannington, on the Downs south of Kingsclere, I heard a few years ago of the children coming round with bunches of flowers tied on long sticks, and singing a weird song that ended:

"So please to see our garlands
Made in the morning—Whoop!"⁴

But everywhere, even in the north-west of the county, May Day begging is said to be fast dying out. For one reason the children do not get a holiday, and so the time in which they can indulge therein is strictly limited. At Longstock,

³[An old man, who is a native of Bere Forest, tells me that up to the time he left the county, about 1875, the first of May was known there as Garland Day, and was celebrated by children carrying about garlands of flowers for admiration and halfpence. C. S. Burne.]

⁴Sussex and Wilts also. Cf. Jefferies, *Wild Life in a Southern County*, cap. v, for Wilts customs.

in the Test valley, the maypole and the May Queen are still an annual institution, but entirely managed, if not originated, by the schoolmaster, not the villagers; so I was told there was a danger of the children looking upon it as part of the school curriculum instead of a rural festival.

There is, however, one rural custom,—quite free from officialdom,—much observed in the county, which I am inclined to connect with these May-time festivities rather than with its professed historical origin, and that is the observance of Shick Shack Day.⁵ This is the country-folk's name for Royal Oak Day, May 29th, when, wrote Miss Yonge at Otterbourne, "those who omit the wearing of the oak-apple are liable to the drenching which in Devon belongs to the first."

Herrick's well-known lines commencing "Come my Corinna, come!" apply, of course, to May Day, but they find parallel even now at Upton Grey on the twenty-ninth, not the first of the month. The Rev. R. M. Heanley tells me:—

"At Upton Grey there is a very special celebration of May 29th, Royal Oak Day. The church bells are vigorously rung at 6 a.m., after which the ringers place a large branch of oak over the church porch, and another large one over the lychgate, and then proceed to put smaller branches in the gateway of every house all up and down the village street. This is supposed to ensure good luck for the remainder of the year, and any omission is sure to be followed by disaster of some sort or other."⁶

⁵The origin of the term *Shick Shack*, if noted in dictionaries at all, is said to be obscure, but I find that at Gloucester College School the boys not wearing oak apples on the 29th of May were hooted at by their comrades, who yelled 'shig-shag' as an "opprobrious epithet" after them (*Notes and Queries*, 5th S. vol. iv, pp. 176-7). *Shack* in the Western United States means a roughly built house or cabin, especially such a one as is put up for temporary occupation while securing a claim under the United States pre-emption laws. This may be a sidelight, for many old Hampshire and Sussex words are to be found nowadays in Yankee 'slang.' *Common of Shack* is the right of all members of a community to turn their cattle after harvest into the common field. *Shag* is, according to Skeat, Danish for wattle.

⁶At Crondall and other churches, the bells used to ring on the 29th.

We may compare this with the Castleton Garland Day, and the part played therein by the ringers referred to by Miss Burne in the address I have already quoted, and in this connection also, to quote again from Brand, we get Borlase's account of decking houses with boughs in Cornwall, and planting trees or stumps in front of the houses; while, just a mile or so over the Sussex border,—roughly speaking, twenty miles from Upton Grey,—we find the members of Harting Old Club carrying hazel wands to church on Whit-Monday, and cutting boughs from the beeches to plant them in the road as they file past.⁷

Is it too much straining of probability to suggest that the difference in dates is due to the extreme antiquity of a common origin, one so remote that its reasons are lost, or but loom faintly through the dim mists of the Bygone, while the residuary customs have been grafted on to younger, it may be even alien, stock? Certainly there need be no difficulty about explaining on these grounds the connection of the Shick-shack customs to that day on which "unspeakable mercies," as the Special Church Service put it, "were wonderfully completed," a completion in which the oak had a very material share.

On the Summerhaugh, where the stocks stood at St. Mary Bourne,—an open space by the bridge,—the sweeps on May Day clattered shovels and brushes and danced round the "walking bower," in which "was a female of their order," says Dr. Stevens. And the boys used to blow their "May-horns" of willow bark twisted spirally. (The "whoop" at the end of the Hannington rhyme may possibly be a survival of these willow horns.)⁸

⁷ A. Beckett, *The Spirit of the Downs*, p. 61.

⁸ [M. G. recollects May-horns blown by boys on "Garland Day" (May 1st) yearly at Andover about 1870. They were real horns, like those sold in toyshops, but much longer. The children went round to the houses of the neighbouring gentry. The girls carried flowers made up in different designs (crosses, anchors, etc.), in bunches on sticks, or in baskets. C. S. Burne.]

Here we have an entirely new feature introduced,—the horn,—and therewith open wide fields of argument; but taking all its possible meanings, implications, and connections, one fact stands clear,—it was connected with Revels, and those Revels of apparently great antiquity, and in some way a lingering echo of the old High Woods, the old, wild, woodland life, with rights, privileges, and ceremonies that Time turned to abuses, and a nicer Civilization swept away.

“In comely sort their foreheads did adorn
With goodly coronets of hardy horne,”

wrote Nicholas Breton in 1612, of the frequenters of Horn Fair at Charlton, and it is only within the last half century or so that the custom of “Horning the Colts” has been discontinued at Weyhill Fair, near Andover. A “colt” was a new-comer to the Fair. At the village inns were kept caps fitted with horns, between which a “cup” was placed. This cap was placed on the colt’s head, who sat with it on while the old hands sang:

“So swiftly runs the hare, so cunning runs the fox,
Why shouldn’t this young heifer grow up to be an ox,
And drink with his daddy with a large pair of horns.

CHORUS. With a large pair of horns.”¹

The cup was then handed to the novice, who drank the half pint of liquor it contained. After this he paid for half a gallon for the others to drink.

According to one account, the cap at the Star Inn was “like a dog with an open mouth, which was painted red

¹ A variant of the song is given in the *Papers and Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club*, vol. iii, pp. 127-42:—

“So swift runs the hare, so keen runs the fox,
Why should not this young calf grow up to be an ox,
And get his own living among briars and thorns,
And drink like his daddy with a large pair of horns?

CHORUS. Horns, boys, horns, horns, boys, horns,
And drink like his daddy with a large pair of horns.”

inside," and was adorned with gilded rams' horns. It has been lost.

Another cap,—also lost,—was like a wooden "billicock." It was painted green, and had a plate attached with the inscription, "Better times are coming." This cap had fallow-deer's horns.¹⁰

There is a tribe in North Nigeria the members of which don helmets with horns attached if they are successful hunters,—and one is also reminded of Jaques' song in *As You Like It*.

In considering this custom of the Horning of the Colts, a few details about Weyhill Fair should be borne in mind. When it was first held not even tradition whispers, and with the immortal Topsy it must say,—"*Spec's I growed.*" But it lies on the line of the old Drove Road worn by the passing flocks of the earliest herdsmen "away along" from Exeter to London, and in the centre of what, in Roman and Saxon times, was a rich neighbourhood. A seventeenth-century document describes it as "the greatest and most beneficial faire to the Western Counties of England." But, besides these comparatively modern details, the hill stands out on a ridge where once ran the southern border of Chute Forest.

It has been suggested that the horns at Charlton Fair originated with no illegal amours of King John, but from the fact that the Fair is held on St. Luke's Day, and the horned ox is his sign. In support of this theory is quoted the fact that in one of the church windows is,—or was,—an old bit of stained glass showing the Saint with his ox, a very horned beast. But though there is also the tempting reference to the ox in the Weyhill song, I take it that the origin of the horns is to be found earlier than that of the Saint's Day. It may be another graft, or confusion of ideas;¹¹ and the Saint's claim is weakened by the fact that

¹⁰ R. H. Clutterbuck, *Notes on the Parishes of Fyfield etc.*, pp. 112-3.

¹¹ At Abbots' Bromley the same confusion between the Wake and the Fair Days has arisen. Cf. Miss Burne, *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxi, p. 26.

the ground on which the Kentish Fair is held is known as Cuckold's Point.¹² This makes for the meaning intended in "The Boy and the Mantle"; and in this connection also we find the horn at St. Mary Bourne.

When a man or woman was suspected of infidelity there, it was customary to subject them to the ordeal of "wooset" or "ooset" hunting.¹³ The neighbours assembled with ox-horns, and blew them, or other discordant instruments, to collect people. They then marched in procession past the house of the suspected person, making what they called "rough music" with horns, frying pans, marrow bones, and tongs. Sometimes a horse's skull was carried on the top of a pole, with a cross-bar beneath, on which a shift was outstretched. The jawbone was worked with a piece of wood, to make a champing noise.¹⁴ Occasionally a pair of horns was fixed to the skull. If the performance took place in the winter they carried turnip lanterns. For three successive nights the noisy procession clattered past. For the next three nights they desisted. This was repeated till the demonstration had been given nine times in all. The people firmly believed that the performance was legal, and could not be officially prevented.¹⁵

Take with all this the account of May Revels, given by Stubbs in his *Anatomie of Abuses*, quoted by Brand, and

¹² W. Jerrold, *Highways and Byways in Kent*.

¹³ This custom has been described by Thomas Hardy in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*. Mr. Elworthy, in *Horns of Honour*, mentions a devil mask called the Dorset Ooser, at Melbury Osmond, "probably worn at the village revel." It has long bullock's horns. At Stourton, near Frome, till about thirteen years ago, there was a village custom called the Christmas Bull. A man dressed up with a bull's head and large horns visited the houses and chased the young people (*The Antiquary*, October, 1908). Note that W in Hants is often softened to H or dropped, and compare Wooden, Hooden, Wooset, Ooset, whore-set, and Wooser or Ooser.

¹⁴ The horse's skull with clattering jaw reminds one of the old Thzneth hoodening, but that had a very different connection for Kentish men, as it was a Yuletide custom.

¹⁵ A full description is given by Stevens in *A Parochial History of St. Mary Bourne*.

you have the full connection of *bowers*,—with their variants, maypoles, oak sprays, branches, garlands,—*Revels*, and *horns* all three linked back to the old High Woods again.¹⁶

Naturally, in so wooded a country we expect to find legends and beliefs about trees. I do not know whether the Wiltshire custom of combining the ash and oak sprays on Shick Shack Day was ever followed over the Hampshire border, but the ash has a very important place in the country lore. For instance, we get Gilbert White's well-known account of the pollard ashes through whose split trunks ailing children had been drawn. He wrote as though the custom was dying out in his day, but I met a man in Lymington who told me he knew people now alive who had been passed through a tree in their youth. My informant ought to know, for his mother was a *wise woman* learned in all such matters. These trees must not be confused with the shrew-ash, "whose twigs or branches," White explained, "when gently applied to the limbs of cattle, will immediately relieve the pains which a beast suffers from the running of a shrew-mouse over the part affected," (*Letter lxx*), for the shrew-ash obtained its magic, it will be remembered, by the incarceration of an unfortunate mouse in the trunk.

In addition to the Shick Shack customs we find the oak in some of the country tales. Inside the triangular iron pillar that marks where Rufus is supposed to have fallen in the New Forest, is a stone placed by Lord Delaware in 1745 where the oak-tree grew from which the fatal arrow was said to have deflected. This tree was credited with miraculous qualities.¹⁷

¹⁶ There is an inn at Nursling called the Horns; in the south-east of the county there is a Horn Copse, a Horn Wood, and Horndean Village.

¹⁷ Shaw, the Staffordshire historian, said that,—“The story of its putting forth buds on Christmas Day, which wither again before night, may appear idle and superstitious to those who have not had ocular demonstration; the latter part, indeed, I will not vouch for, but the former is unquestionably true; and I have seen as extraordinary an effect on the Glastonbury thorn. The oak,”—he naively

The Rufus oak must be distinguished from the similarly gifted one at Cadnam. I know that insignificant-looking oak-tree well, but have never had the luck to be there on Christmas Day to see it magic out in freshly-opened leaf. I can only say that, when last I went by it, a few weeks after one Christmas season, it was as bare of leaf as any of its undistinguished neighbours! It is not without interest to note that the tree which influenced the fatal shaft that slew the Red King was an oak, for in some parts of the county it is held that oaks draw thunder. I was taking refuge one day in a wayside inn during a severe storm, and, speaking to an old countryman about Alice Holt Forest, whither I was bound, was advised by him not to go there that day as "there be iron in the o-ak what draws it," though the big chalk pit by Odiham, a few miles to the north-west, sends thunder away. Perhaps it is because of this dangerous characteristic that they say ravens will not build in oak-trees. Another dangerous thing is the blackthorn, as a wound from it is hardest to heal.

We thus get the old magic oak, ash, and thorn, potent to save or destroy, to heal and to wound.

According to Canon Vaughan, cures with herbs are no longer regarded in the county, as he tells a story of an old woman who was "the last of the simple-gatherers of Hampshire."¹⁸ The story is worth repeating, as it suggests a connection between black and white magic in this matter. The old woman was gathering herbs in the Forest of Bere, and on returning home one night with her spoils was offered a sovereign for her "harbs" by a "sharp-featured man." adds,—“I have not seen, but I am satisfied with the evidence of a friend, whose veracity is, in my mind, equal to self sight. This gentleman was, a few years ago, called upon to determine a wager, that a leaf should be produced on Christmas Day, to the size of a filbert, which he then gathered to the satisfactory decision of the bet.” (*Tour to the West of England, Mayor's The British Tourists*, vol. iv, pp. 288-9.)

¹⁸ *The Wild-Flowers of Selborne*, pp. 23-4.

The deal was carried through, but she never dared to spend the money, and she left over 600 gold pieces in two leather bags when she died!

Some fifty years ago a local leech enjoyed a great reputation among the Downland villages by Kingsclere, where *Daphne Mezereum* and Solomon's Seal were treasured for their medicinal qualities. A decoction of the latter made into soap was sold by the herbalist to rural maidens, who credited it with wonderful powers for the removal of sunburn and freckles, and their faith in the healing properties of the plant was as great as even "laborious Gerarde" could desire. The *Daphne Mezereum* still lingers in odd corners of Harewood, though nowadays better known in cottage garden-plots or in shrubberies than as a wild growth of the woods. This plant was used for the reverse of healing, the professional beggar effecting an evil-looking sore by rubbing a cut with it, and so poisoning the wound.

Snakes kindly provide the antidote for their own venom: "Now I'll tell you what to do, Miss, when you gets bitten by an adder," said one old countryman near Pilley, on the southern edge of the Forest, to a friend of mine. "You just takes him up by the head and slits him down, and take out the fat and rub it on the wound, and that is a certain cure." For your sake it is to be hoped that, if bitten at all, it may be in the spring, for "Adders is fattest in March month,"—and if you suffer from ultra-sensitiveness you might bear in mind that snakes,—in Hampshire,—always live till sundown, and time your biting accordingly!

Toads are still, to say the least, regarded with suspicion. Gilbert White relates (*Letter xvii*) how "a quack" at Selborne "ate a toad, to make the country-people stare; afterwards he drank oil." White also mentions, when on a visit near Hungerford,—probably to his brother at Fyfield,—making "inquiries concerning the wonderful method of curing cancers by means of toads," then locally much talked

about.¹⁹ He considered the "cancer doctress" a fraud. But in the Hursley neighbourhood Miss Yonge noted the current superstition that to pick up an evvet (newt) caused abscesses to break out on the arm. These two cases are, to me, rather suggestive of a possible similarity of idea with the still existent belief in the snake-bite cure above quoted.

I recently came across a story, in a book published about a year ago, connected with toads at Horwell. On a house in the village is said to be a weather vane that once was on the church. It is a cockatrice, the story being that a toad sat on a duck's egg and hatched out a cockatrice, for which reason ducks' eggs were never eaten in the village, for fear a toad might have sat on them. [But the accuracy of the writer in other matters is not above suspicion.]

Among other things the Hampshire folk say that:—

If you catch an owl you will have bad luck.

It is unlucky to shoot turtle doves; and it is also unlucky to shoot cuckoos.

Both cuckoos' and turtle doves' flesh is poison. (Dewar.)

Woodcocks live by sucking the ground. (Dewar.)

The fern-owl, or night-jar, injures calves. (White, *Observations on Birds*.)

The ravens ceased to nest in Tangle Clump because in 1862 the curate had the young birds taken. Nestlings had often been stolen before, but that does not seem to have had any prejudicial effect on the parents' choice of a nest.

III. Earthworks, the Devil, and Witchcraft.

So far I have dealt roughly with what may be considered native influences. Now I would like to take more particularly some of the works of man,—in fact to leave the high wood for the open country.

¹⁹ *The Natural History of Selborne, Letter xviii.*

Speaking of the Manor of the Grange at Selborne, White noted: "a considerable tumulus or hillock, now covered with thorns and bushes, and known by the name of Kite's Hill, which is presented, year by year, in court as not ploughed," and he attributed it to the possible fact that the Prior of Selborne in old days had his gallows there, and gave as evidence the fact that "a spot just by is called Gally (Gallows) Hill."²⁰ May it not be that the gallows stood on Gally Hill, but that the disinclination to disturb the tumulus, eventually attributed to the vicinity of the gallows, originated long before Priors and their gallows were thought of? Unfortunately, during the last two or three centuries, there has been no hesitation in Hampshire about disturbing tumuli, but of old time the burial places of heathen forefathers were sacred. The continuity of such consecration finds proof in more than one instance within the county borders. Cheriton Church unmistakably is built upon a large circular earthwork, whether originally of a sepulchral or merely religious character has not been,—so far as I am aware,—ascertained, but admittedly artificial and prehistoric, one of the "gods' mounds"; and in connection with this immemorial religious character it is not without interest to note that the orientation of Cheriton Church is distinctly E.N.E. But, though there are other churches in the county that do not face due east²¹ and various reasons are locally proffered to explain the fact, the question of orientation is too big to touch on even roughly here, beyond the suggestion that the cause is possibly not

²⁰ *The Antiquities of Selborne*, Letter xxvi.

²¹ The following may be noted as instances: St. Mary, (Bentworth), E.N.E., 12th cent.; St. Michael, (Cheriton), E.N.E., probably pre-Conquest, (on mound); All Saints, (Hinton Ampner), E.N.E., pre-Conquest; St. Mary, (Crawley), E.N.E.; Sts. Peter and Paul, (Thruxton), E.N.E., 12th cent. (?); Our Lady, (Upton Grey), E.S.E., 13th cent.; St. Michael, (Stoke Charity), E.S.E., 13th cent.; St. Katherine, (Littleton), E.N.E., 12th cent. (on mound); Sts. Mary and Edward, (Netley), E.N.E., 13th cent.; Brockenhurst, pre-Conquest, (on mound).

to be found entirely in mediæval days, but partly in a dim survival of forgotten reasons.

Local tradition says that the church at Twyford stands on the site of an old Druidic temple,—there are some grey-wether sandstones in the vicinity,—and that the old yew is a survival of a grove. But its age, also by local report, is only five hundred years. This, however, is a detail in Hampshire, where I have more than once been told a church was “very ancient” and on further questioning elicited the answer, “Well, they *do* say ’tis as much as two hundred year.”

Hampshire, having had much in the way of forests, has little or nothing to show in the way of prehistoric stone work. There is a wishing stone on the hill at the top of the Zigzag,²² above Selborne, round which the villagers used to circle seven times, following the sun, and “wishing with all their might for that which they would fain have but had not.”

In the Dean, *i.e.* the hollow, at Bramdean, there is a rough cromlech, and a man in another village told me that it was “older than Stonehenge, they do say,” and the stones “can’t be counted.” “That’s nonsense,” my informant added, “for the’re twenty-one.” Well, I counted them, but I made the total twenty-three! These stones were brought from the Downs about Petersfield by the late Col. Greenwood, whose favourite hunter is buried under a smaller cairn on the opposite side of the roadway. There is then nothing of magic about the erection but what the uninformed imagine, the more readily understood if you remember that in Hampshire “stones grow.” If you doubt this, you have only to gather the flints off a field and see if a double crop will not face you shortly! Besides, has not Shanklin Down increased one hundred feet in height?²³

However this may be, three Hampshire stones have real claim to antiquity, and by a curious coincidence they are

²² *Hampshire Notes and Queries*, vol. vii., p. 152.

²³ S. Tymms, *The Family Topographer*, vol. ii., p. 147.

on the extreme boundaries of the county, the Long Stone on the edge of the Downs above Brixton in the Island,—which consists of two rough blocks, and is said to be an old Mote stone,—and the Imp Stone at Silchester, thrown, legend says, by the Devil,—and, if you doubt it, go and look at the impression of his fingers!

The Devil has nominal ownership of much property in the county of Southampton. He has a Dancing Ground on the Downs; at Newton Valence a copse is known as "the Devil's Pleasure," and at Bighton there is a Devil Acres Coppice. If his great Punchbowl at Hindhead is just over the border, he has other smaller ones within it, such as that on Cheeseford Down. He haunts the Roman Roads,—the Devil's Highways. If, as Sir Laurence Gomme has shown, he inherited all these from the fairies, those "surviving memories of the short dark Iberian,"²⁴ I take this to be indirect evidence of the age of some of our traffic routes, for, when the Roman Roads were made, there were no Iberians in Hants, hardly as slaves in remote corners even, and why should the Devil be connected with roads and tracks if they were,—comparatively,—modern, unless the original tracks were the pre-Christian elves' paths? The Devil, in fact, is a very recent owner, and has not entirely ousted his predecessors.

One great earthwork on the Dorset-Wilts border combines not only Grim and the Devil but Dyke and Ditch, for it is known equally as Grim's Dyke, Grim's Ditch, Devil's Dyke or Ditch; and "Grim and the Devil," as Mr. Allcroft points out, "are Tully and Cicero." The same writer notes that "where the Devil is the owner it is almost always a vallum that is thought of,"²⁵ and, as an instance, though the Devil is credited with the possession of most dykes, one in the vicinity of Andover, with very little vallum and a deep fosse, is known, so far as I am

²⁴ *The Handbook of Folklore*, p. 32.

²⁵ A. H. Allcroft, *Earthwork of England, Prehistoric etc.*, p. 495.

aware, only as Vandyke or Andyke or Dytch. Woden has nominal ownership of another earthwork,—also with a wide ditch,—near Linkenholt, so possibly the Van or An is a corruption of Wandyke here, due to the proximity of Andover and the suggestive similarity of the first syllables. Now this is of interest because one of the few long barrows,—“Graves of Giants” in Hampshire,—lies but two miles to the south of the Andyke, while Woden’s Dyke lies in a line between the great camps of Fosbury and Beacon Hill, and, according to Shore, there are traditions of a giant (Dun Drovv) in the neighbourhood of Woodcot and Crux Easton,—practically on that line,²⁶—while a tumulus on Breamore Down is still known as “Giant’s Grave,” thus giving, within a radius of twenty miles, the full connection of Grim, Devil, Woden, and Giants.

Nor is this all the earthworks have to tell us. A little more than two miles north-east of Andover a Devil’s Ditch runs from the old Roman Portway south to a modern plantation on the side of the South-Western Railway cutting, on the further side of which a rough lane leads to Chapman’s ford. This lane is, to me, one of the most interesting things in the whole county. Roughly to be traced from east to west, passing by, but not through, Silchester and Andover, and bearing south-west to Sarum itself, sections of it are known respectively as the Sheep Way, the Sheep Drove, the Harrow Way, the Cattle Drove, the Ox Way, the Ox Grove, and the Ox Drove, and as such it is to be linked up with the prehistoric trackways of Wilts, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall. Mr. Belloc, when he debonairly jaunted, pen in hand as befits the journalist, along the “Old Way” from Winchester to Canterbury, complacently noted that “the neglected western end from Farnham to Stonehenge . . . is now hardly to be recognised at all”;²⁷ but I have tramped

²⁶ T. W. Shore, *History of Hampshire*, p. 5.

²⁷ H. Belloc, *The Old Road* (1904), p. 37.

along it, and gossiped with the country-folk, and, 'of course everyone knows,' it is the old cattle road from the west country, deserted byway though it be for the most part where not swallowed up by arable land or modern coverts. For now that the high road has never a toll gate there is no need to take the rougher, older track because that road is free. 'As everyone knows,' it was obviously useless to ask questions,—that stamps you as a stranger, a foe in the midst,—but I gathered 'it always had been,'—and significantly connected with it is another 'always has been,' the annual fair at Weyhill, the great mart of these districts since before the memory of man. I do not hesitate to put trackways and fair back to that dim past which lies in the ages before ever a Roman chronicler set curious foot on the storm-bound isle of the west. For, if there was neutral ground on which the ancient markets were held,²⁸ would not the trackways leading thereto be neutral ground likewise, even in those chaotic days when every man's hand was against his neighbour?

But we have not yet done with the Devil. He was concerned with the removal of sundry places from their original sites. In two instances, Winchester and Christchurch, the buildings were first begun on a height already occupied with earthworks, and thence transferred to the valley. Old Winchester Hill is such a distance from the city that one is inclined to imagine the myth must have grown out of the name,—yet how came it to be called Old Winchester? At Christchurch the foundations of the Saxon monastery and churches were laid at the top of St. Catherine's Hill, but were nightly destroyed, till the builders took the lesson to heart and were content to build in the valley. At Godshill in the Island, and at Nursling, the churches were also removed. I do not know if the site first chosen was in the vicinity of any earth-work, but the Island church was commenced in the valley,

²⁸ Gomme, *The Village Community*.

and pulled down every night, until supernatural aid assisted in the building of it on the hilltop ; hence the name. At Nursling the church first stood in a wood, but was removed one night *in toto*. The place is still known as Mary's Grove, though stubbed up long ago, and is said to be haunted. (Another story connects the ghost with a suicide.²⁹)

As the modern equivalent of Grim and the Devil we find Oliver Cromwell's name connected with mount, battery, and other earthworks. Memories of the Civil War, as is only to be expected, abound in the county. At Cheriton the guide books will point out, if the yokels do no longer, that the lane by Lamborough Fields ran with blood after the fight. A man at Bramdean told me of cottage doors yet to be seen with holes in them,—made by Cromwell's bullets. Waller's troops undoubtedly left their mark thereabouts. Durley has a legend that Cromwell's sisters,—some say daughters,—lived there; whilst an inn at Farnborough takes its name from unfortunate 'Tumble-down-Dick,' the Hursley Squire. A farmer's wife in the neighbourhood of Alton is responsible for the information that Cromwell was in the fight there and was "killed in the pulpit." This is rather an original variant of the heroic story of Colonel Boles, killed when defending the church against overwhelming odds.

A forester accounted for the tumuli on Beaulieu Heath in this fashion:—"We calls ut Saltpetre Bank. All these here mounds was throwd up by Uliver Crummle when he tuk the Farest ; he and the Danes beat the English the fust time they ever was beat, and he druv the English into Wales."³⁰

But my best Cromwell story comes from Weyhill. Mr. Heanley wrote:—

"Built into the wall of the vestry there now stands the much mutilated remains of the top of a double crucifix. But, up till

²⁹ B. B. W. Woodward, T. C. Wilkes, and C. Lockhart, *A General History of Hampshire*, vol. i., p. 378.

³⁰ Rogers, *Guide to the New Forest*, p. 62.

about 1862, when the church was much altered, it had stood close to the South door, so that everyone entering the church passed by it. And one day when I was showing an old man, whose people had lived in the Parish for some 250 years, the dowel holes which used to fasten the figures, (which I had cleared of the cement that had long hidden them), he astounded me by saying,—‘Ah, yes, when I was a boy and used to come up to church with granfer, he would always stop before that there, every Sunday, and say,—“Look e here my lad, them’s the marks of Cromwell’s spear. *Cuss un.” And I cussed un.”*’

On enquiry of two other aged inhabitants, Mr. Heanley found that both had also been brought up to curse Cromwell every Sunday.

Now to this day a New Forest curse is “God damn the Devil.”

Puck lingers in the Forest as a place-name only,—Puck pitts,—but the wood-imp or colt-pixy may yet lead horses astray in lonely corners, and the Devil’s connection with the elfin world is borne out by the common belief in a multiplicity of devils. Another of Mr. Heanley’s stories corroborates this :—

“When I was Vicar of Upton Grey, I noted to my great astonishment that, when the time came for the tolling (of) the Passing Bell, instead of the sexton tolling only the big Tenor Bell, as is the custom in most parts of the country, he tolled *Ua* the bells one after another, with, say, two dozen tolls for each. And, when I enquired the reason, I got this delightful reply,—“You know, Sir, devils can’t abide o’ bells. And there’s some devils as are feared of some bells, and there’s other devils as are feared of other bells, and so we tolls them all to fear them all.” Just as in Lucerne, for instance, I have heard all the bells of the Cathedral there clanged together when a thunderstorm was raging, to banish the evil spirits that were supposed to be causing it.”

To quote from another of Mr. Heanley’s letters :—

“I know for a fact that most rustics hereabouts (Weyhill) firmly believe in witchcraft, as firmly as they did in the days of the famous

'Tedworth Drummer' story. But when I asked an old woman one day with respect to a case I knew had been ascribed to witchcraft, all I could get out of her was,—'I says my Belief and the Lord's Prayer every night before I gets into bed, and then I am not feared either of the old devil or any of his little devils.'"

In an oak wood near Otterbourne, Miss Yonge tells, a hunted fox was invariably lost, and this was attributed locally to the occult powers of "a handsome, witch-like old dame, dead many years since."²¹

But of Hampshire witches the one that interested me most was the witch of Botley, perhaps because there seems to have been a good deal of confusion between her,—Kate Hunt was her name,—and a girl named Kate Knox. Kate Hunt in her day enjoyed a reputation as a local witch, with the result that she was shot, with a half-crown cut into two pieces, and fled away in the shape of a hare. People who were living three years ago, when I made many enquiries on the spot, knew Kate Hunt and remembered the story well. Kate Knox was an unfortunate girl whose lover betrayed and deserted her. In despair she drowned herself in a pond near Kit Nox hill.²²

Occult powers seem sometimes to have been attributed to whole communities. A blind octogenarian at Pilley, on the southern outskirts of the New Forest, told a friend of mine recently that the Narleywood people were a bad lot,—“some of them got rich on that they took from others,” *i.e.* pigs, sheep, and corn from their neighbours' barns. One old man, Lankester by name, was known as “the King of Thieves,” and stole in the

²¹ *An Old Woman's Outlook etc.*, p. 189.

²² The similarity of the three names has caused some confusion, and the ghost that haunts the road over the hill is said by some to be that of the witch, and by others that of Kate Knox. The name of the hill, however, is far older than either, and the local folk told me that the ghost was Kate Knox, but the witch Kate Hunt. This does not tally with the story given by Shore in his *History of the county*.

pannage months, (*i.e.* when there was the right of pannage or pasturing swine in the woods). If animals or things were 'lost,' people went to him to have them 'found.' But there seems to have been more fraud than magic in his dealings. As children, the old woman continued, they were "tarble feared" of "the Riddleys," *i.e.* people who went about selling *riddle* (raddle) for brick floors. They carried the *riddle* in bags on donkeys, and "were all the same as Turks." "Gippos?" asked my friend, and the old lady assented. But these were forest terrors, quite distinct from the fears of the Down folk.

There was an old shepherd on the Downs, near Kingsclere, some four years ago, who was credited with an immense knowledge of country lore. I made several attempts to meet him 'accidentally,' on the uplands, without success, but gathered a few of his sayings from people who had talked with him. For one thing, though he would stay out night after night in the solitude of the hilltops with no company but his dog and black-faced sheep, nothing would induce him to spend even an hour alone after dark in his cottage. But then it is never really dark out on the uplands, and there is lightning every night, except on Christmas Eve, (old style), when the cattle still kneel down, being as stubbornly conservative as the Hampshire folk themselves.

IV. Ghosts and Funeral Customs.

One fear is, however, common throughout the county, and you will find as many ghosts in hustling Portsmouth as in the remotest village. "Everyone '*walks*' in Hampshire," a young yeoman farmer in the north of the county told me, but "Old families and old customs be dying out," one good wife remarked sadly. For three generations her people had been the blacksmiths of the village, and she regretted the departure of the "round frocks" her father, who lived "a long age," used to wear. Most of all did she regret the yearly advent of the hop-pickers,—“outliers” all

of them nowadays, and they "carries on a treat," "they carries on something chronic." It was not surprising after this to hear that even the ghosts "seemed 'bout played out now." However, after a little discussion, it appeared that, if they had given no very recent manifestation, they were yet plentiful enough in the neighbourhood. There was one at the farm way over,—a man who hanged himself in a barn. He came of a wild lot. Soon after, shepherd was driving a flock past to Petersfield Fair with a dog "that would face anything." Shepherd was a steady man, but at the corner of the barn the dog cowered down, and the "ship" rushed home and nothing could get them by. No one had seen this ghost lately,—not that shepherd *saw* anything,—but the people at the farm had heard it knocking, so 'twas said. There was a ghost, too, near Mabbitts' Farm, where Countess Gleichen stayed to paint horses. Old Mr. Hayes of Horndean "never believed in such things" as ghosts before he visited Hawkley, but he "heard the ghost" of the girl who was drowned in Greatham Mill stream. She had been a country heiress with £3000, but an evil-living brother ill-treated her, "brought three women from London, he did," to the house, and the girl in despair committed suicide, nor was Mr. Hayes the only one to vouch for the resultant ghost.

Considerable interest is being taken at the present moment in *An Adventure* of two ladies at Le Petit Trianon. Well, since 1896, at Coombe, on the border of the north-west angle,—officially in Berkshire though the inhabitants refuse to be recognised as other than Hants folk,—the late vicar told me of a parallel case. One day a local labourer came to the vicarage with a tale of "furrin folk" in the garden of the old manor. He was a stolid and uneducated yokel, the last man to suffer from over-stimulated imagination, but on being questioned he described accurately the dresses worn by the said "furrin folk," and they were unquestionably of the Stuart period.

Now it is, I believe, a fact that Charles II. and Nell Gwynne did visit this remote manor, and the original old summer-house is still standing in the garden where the man saw the ghosts. But such historical details were unknown to the villager. Nor did he take the "furrin folk" to be merely apparitions. He would have admitted that the house was haunted, for its reputation in the way of ghostly happenings is considerable, which is not surprising, as within the last fifty years children's skeletons were found buried inside. Once a cell of the Abbey of Bec, Oakham Priory has little but its ghosts, some ruined wall, and part of the church remaining. The Manor House that succeeded it has suffered enough at the hands of nineteenth-century restorers to have driven every self-respecting ghost away. Yet I heard tales of a room where something mysterious dripped from the ceiling. I could not effect an entrance, so cannot offer personal evidence for this, but another of the ghostly demonstrations,—the chanting of nuns in one of the rooms,—is possibly to be explained by the proximity of the bells in the grey-shingled spire. The priest's door of that church is known locally as "the wicked man's door," village tales having it that the squire of old entered by it, and the service was never commenced till he had taken his seat. By inadvertence one day this custom was neglected, and the squire came in as "When the wicked man" sounded through the little building. This neighbourhood has many other stories. There is a gallows on the hill above with gruesome memories. Near by lived a damsel renowned throughout the country-side for her magnetic gifts, and on the high downs to the south, only a few years ago, a pedlar told me, "when the sappriminers was here, in old times, they made a telegram, and from there they did use to spy into France they did." Thus, when off the beat of modern progress, will a few years transmogrify a triangulation station of the Royal Engineers!³³

³³ Cf. D. H. M. Read, *Highways and Byways in Hampshire*, pp. 175, 179.

Two men returning to the neighbourhood of Fording-bridge from Ringwood one evening in a farm cart saw in a lane near a lonely homestead a "white cow-thing." This they decided must be Mrs. X's cow got loose. They drew rein and stopped at the cottage to warn her. As no one replied to their knocking, they went up to the window and peeped through. In the room "sat a 'Thing,' a horror with a dead child in its arms. The men turned and ran, but hearing shrieks went round to the back, where they found the widow and her children had taken refuge in the loft, from which the two men rescued them by a ladder. No one ever entered the cottage again, and some said that a child had been murdered there. But the most curious thing is that the white cow was safely tied up in her shed all the time.

The Rev. G. E. Jeans sent me the following story, received from Redway, in the parish of Arreton:—

"Our mason, who comes from there, says that he and his wife one evening as they passed heard a loud noise, "like something as heavy as a horse falling from the top of one of the ricks"! He jumped over the low wall, but there was nothing to be seen."

Mr. Jeans comments that "this is closely like the grert thing which fell from the loft and scarted the horses," a tale that his gardener told us both the year before last.

"When ee was at Atherfield Farm," said he, speaking of a fellow-labourer of his who like himself lived in the haunted house in question, "ee woke one night, ee got up,—to see what weather were like maybe, p'raps 'twere for hay or haarvest,—at two or may be dree o' morning, and ee he-ard noise like in yard. Ee got up. Ee thought as might be harse were ill in stables. Ee saw nothing."

I questioned the gardener, who seemed to think the tale ended here, but all he could say was that there had been a noise of "a grert thing which fell from loft and scarted the harses." Then he went on to say that, when he had lived in the house himself:—

"I never shut eye for five weeks, Miss, no sleep at all. You may not believe me, but there's reason for it, doctor said,—brown kitis. No, I never slept, and that's fact. An' one night I he-ard noise, like as though summun come to see how I were, the young maister or sum of women folk. And then I felt summat waarm an' heavy like lie down top o' me. I did raise mysel' to see what 'twere,—an' there weren't nothing."

This uncomfortable behaviour was less than the ghost did with other people. "It took an' scrooped arm-chair round," it broke the glass and china, upset the dairy, and rattled milk pans. Now for the cause of all this disturbance. The farmer at Atherfield in days long gone by, —but I will continue in the man's words, which I wrote down immediately after he told me the tale:—

"—Ee wanted servant, so ee went to Union. In them days any as wanted servant very young like would go to Forest House (Parkhurst Union), an' they'd plenty o' young girls there. Well this man ee took one for servant down Atherfield,—an then she disappeared. And all this is true. I never taalks about sech things if not true, 'twould only unsettle folks. Her body was found in mixen."

In nearly every instance I have given there is some reason for the return of the spirit to its earthly abode, but, did time permit, I could give you many instances of hauntings with apparently no reason for ghostly unrest on the part of the dead. It is simply, as I have already said, that "everyone walks." We find the fear of this return in the custom that insists on the opening of all doors and windows when the coffin has been carried out; this used always to be the case at Lymington, for instance. I was given no reason as to why salt should be put on the floor under a coffin, or why the wise woman of Lymington aforementioned always collected biscuits at funeral feasts, but Mr. Heanley has given me the reason for another custom I knew of,—ringing a merry peal after a funeral, "or a single bell rung very quickly. It was," he wrote,

"quite a new thing to me when I came into Hampshire, and on asking an explanation at Upton Grey I was told that it was to warn St. Peter that a soul was coming, and he must open the gate and let it in. Indeed, one day, when the sexton had delayed to ring this peal till he had first filled in the grave, an old woman came and bitterly complained to me. "It were a tarble cruel thing to keep that poor soul awaiting in the cold, a day like this.""³⁴

As in many other parts of England, it is usually considered the correct thing after a funeral for all the bereaved family to attend church on the following Sunday, clad in heavy mourning, and sit together. In some places the party neither stand nor kneel throughout the service, as I have seen in Herefordshire also. The women, thickly veiled, with great display of black-bordered kerchief, sob at intervals. The men, for the most part, study intently the insides of the hats they twirl in their hands. Details vary in different parishes. Still, as a rule, they leave the church first of the congregation,—but sometimes last, the chief thing seemingly being to keep apart from others,—and gather round the grave in mournful silence.

In many villages the grave must not be in the north-east corner of the churchyard. White noticed this superstition against the north side and east, but hoped that "as two or three families of best repute have begun to bury in that quarter, prejudice may wear out by degrees." A century and more has not eradicated it, however, and only the last time I was in Hampshire, I was told by a girl from Fordingbridge that no one would be buried in the north-east of a churchyard, as it was "Hell Corner." The feeling against it "apparently never existed at Weyhill," Mr. Heanley says,— "but it did at Upton Grey, and a former Vicar, a Mr. Rookin, who died in 1874, left directions that he should himself be buried there, hoping thereby to destroy it." I also found it

³⁴ Cf. Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties etc.*, pp. 62-3 (Bucks).

the custom at Laverstoke and Lasham, and heard that it still exists in many other places.

Another local custom connected with funerals, though of a very different character, also noted by the historian-rector of Selborne, has not yet died out in one village, and that is the hanging of a paper garland in the church as a memorial for those who died celibate. This, the most interesting burial custom that pertains in Hampshire, is, of course, that referred to by Washington Irving in the paper on *Rural Funerals* in his *Sketch Book* as "a most delicate and beautiful rite," though the description he gives is not quite an accurate version of the Abbots Ann funeral garlands. I do not know which of the dozen villages or so where the custom still lingered in Irving's day was the one he visited, and there are fewer still to-day where the custom is continued or even remembered. Writing of Selborne church at the end of the previous century, White records that he could "remember when its beams were hung with garlands in honour of young women of the parish, reputed to have died virgins"; and he could "recollect to have seen the clerk's wife cutting, in white paper, the resemblances of gloves, and ribbons to be twisted into knots and roses, to decorate these memorials of chastity. In the church of Faringdon," he adds, "which is the next parish, many garlands of this sort still remain."⁸⁶

⁸⁶ *The Antiquities of Selborne, Letter iii.* The custom has died out at Teddington, but there were, I believe, garlands hanging in the church within the last century. At Ashover there is no record of a chaplet later than 1843. Flamborough had chaplets hung in the church in 1761, but the custom died out and was forgotten there. A chaplet in memory of one Ann Kendall, who died in 1745, was still hanging in the church ten years ago. Six were hanging in the church, and are still kept in the vestry, at Matlock Bridge, while some were sold as curiosities. There is said to have been a chaplet hanging within the last hundred years at Trusby, and one at Acton Burnell may yet, I was once told, still exist, though the custom has long died out there. At Ashford-in-the-Water it has also died out, but as late as 1908 there were five garlands hanging in the north aisle. One bore the date April 12, 1747. Two are more than two hundred years old. The last one was hung up over eighty years ago.

At Abbots Ann within the last few years a garland was hung up after the funeral of a young girl. The garland consists of a paper crown with five white paper gloves, and is laid on the coffin. The crown is made of rosettes fastened on a wooden frame.

I came in to East Worldham one afternoon when a funeral was taking place. All the village had assembled along the road, and everyone wore at least some scrap of black. And at East Meon I once saw a child's funeral. The tiny coffin was covered with white satin, and was carried by children. All the village children followed in procession, even tiny tots who did not in the least understand that the occasion was not one for smiles and laughter. Unfortunately a distant train had to be caught with but small margin of time, and I was obliged to hurry away. East Meon is such a remote, such a comparatively untouched corner, that I felt I might be missing much of interest in hurrying past, perhaps the pathetic sight of broken toys placed on the tiny grave,—for the provision thus of spirit toys for the spirit child to play with is not an idea foreign to the county. At least it was done only a few years ago, Mr. Heanley informed me, at Monxton.

These had a single glove, a kerchief, or a collar attached to them, with a poem, the name of the deceased, and the date. At Ilam, on the death of a betrothed person, man or woman, a wooden crown with paper rosettes and paper gloves was hung in the church. At Eyam, I was told that the custom had continued to within the last sixty or seventy years, but there are no relics left, and the present holder of the living could give me no information on the subject. At Ilkeston, fifty or more are said to have been hanging in the middle of the last century, and I have a note of seven "Virgins' Garlands" hanging in 1900 at Minsterley. The garlands consisted of wreaths and gloves hung from a heart-shaped shield, with initials of the dead virgins and the dates of their deaths, which were from 1554 to 1751. I have heard of the custom also in the following places, but so far have not been able to verify the facts: Bolton in Craven, 1783; Bromley, 1747; St. Paul's Cray, 1794; Stanhope, Durham, no date; Shipton and Grey's Foot, between Wrexham and Chester, 1785; Waltham, in Fanland Hundred, Lancs, no date; Walsingham, no date.

V. Saints' Days, Feast Days, and Holidays.

There are a very few places now, if any, where Shrovetide begging is kept up by the children. School hours have killed that as much as May Day doings. But in the neighbourhood of Hannington and St. Mary Bourne it lingered till very recent years, even if quite extinct to-day. The children chanted,—

“Knick-knock, the pan’s hot,
And we are come a-shroving,
For a piece of pancake,
Or a piece of bacon,
Or a piece of truckle-cheese
Of your own making,”

but this is ignored nowadays, and the Pancake Day beggars merely ask for pennies or cake.

At Romsey Pageant a pair of cock’s spurs were exhibited with a note that “On Shrove Tuesday, the ‘prentices’ holiday, a cock fight took place at the Duke’s Head, and a cock’s knell was rung at the Abbey”; and among the papers of the Lathom Ms. (an unpublished History of Romsey), now in the British Museum, there is a note that cock-scailing, once a favourite pastime, “used to be in every avenue round the old Market Howse to ye great annoyance of all.” It ceased, or was put down, in Romsey about 1752. At Lymington, though there is an entry in the Borough Books as late as 1747 anent cock-scailing, this Shrove Tuesday recreation has not only died out but the very fact of its existence has been forgotten there. No one could tell me anything about throwing the heavy sticks at the unhappy bird, tied up, Aunt-Sally-wise, till, the winner’s stick having dispatched him, the bruised carcase was secured as spoil and a fresh bird was tied up to continue the “sport.” But *squoiling* is still talked of,—sometimes as squirling or squirreling, as squirrels are the quarry in place of the birds, though they are hunted wild, not tied up for torture. A loaded stick is,

says one local writer in 1850 (P. Klitz, *Sketches of Life etc. in the New Forest*, p. 61), "commonly used" to chase them. This was hurled at the little animal, and the day was wound up with a squirrel feast. My informant had been squoiling in his young days, and thought it possible that boys still indulged in it, though not in so organised a fashion.

Shrove Tuesday was also a chosen day at Portsmouth for bull-baiting, till the Old Fisherman's Row, where the bull was tied up, vanished in the middle of the eighteenth century, and certainly as late as the end of that century bull-baiting had not been discontinued at Stubington, in the neighbourhood of Fareham, where it was, however, not a Shrove Tuesday but a Whit Monday attraction.

A bull ring still exists at Brading in the Isle of Wight, just above the old stocks below the quaint little Market House and Town Hall. Stocks, by the way, are also to be seen at Odiham, but they no longer exist at St. Cross, by Winchester Butter Cross, in Hyde Street, nor King's Gate Street, as they did a century ago. At Southampton the bull ring was in the High Street, and butchers who killed bulls unbaited were fined two loads of faggots (1496). In the Court Rolls of Basingstoke there is an entry that "We find a fault among the butchers that they killeth their bulls unbaited," and in 1517 a fine of 3s. 4d. was imposed for this curious offence, as the baiting of the wretched animal was supposed to make the meat more wholesome. Of course the same idea exists to this day with regard to a coursed hare.

It is also only within recent years that a curious survival died out in Chilbolton. An old woman there possessed by inheritance a pair of wafering-irons, and at mid-Lent this old Mrs. Baverstock made and sold wafers. "Very nasty tough things" I heard that they were.³⁶

³⁶ I could not discover any recent authority for the story that wafers were sold in Leckford and Chilbolton instead of cakes for Mothering Sunday, though the fact was vouched for in Winchester by a well-known antiquary who said he had seen them. Possibly he confused the Mothering Sunday customs, observed in many Hampshire villages, with Mrs. Baverstock's

Willow palms and Palm Sunday have historical connection in the county, for it was a quarrel over the blessing of their palms in the fourteenth century that brought the ill-feeling between the Romsey townsfolk and the conventual authorities to a head, and resulted in the former being granted the north aisle of the abbey for their parish church. I believe that palms are still taken to church on that day in some Hampshire villages, and probably the old superstition has not died out that it is unlucky to pick them before Palm Sunday. Just over the Dorset border I met with a variant of this, making it unlucky to bring palms into the house at any time. The same thing was told me in the south of the Forest, but not by a Forest-born woman.

On Good Friday babies should be short-coated, and then they will not catch cold.³⁷

The Whit-Monday holiday was one of the most important of the year. Miss Yonge tells us of the sports at Otterbourne,³⁸ when the local Friendly Society "walked." "Each member carried a blue staff tipped with red, and had a blue ribbon round his tall hat, and almost all wore the old white round frock." There was cricket and feasting on the village green, "and too much of that which was politely called 'breaking out at tide time.'"

On Midsummer Eve it is said that in the Hursley district lovers test the sincerity of their sweethearts by laying plants of orpine (*sedum telephium*), locally known as "Live-long,"³⁹ in pairs. The unfaithful will twist away.⁴⁰

On the eve of St. Peter's Day an old custom at Fareham mid-Lent wafers,—though this he denied. I believe the same authority is also responsible for a paragraph in an old number of *The Antiquary* on this subject, in which it is stated that the iron was always heated in a charcoal fire, (vol. xxvii. (1893), p. 188).

³⁷ C. Yonge, *John Keble's Parishes*, p. 175.

³⁸ *An Old Woman's Outlook etc.*, pp. 97-9.

³⁹ Live-long is the usual form.

⁴⁰ Yonge, *John Keble's Parishes*, p. 217.

requires that the millpond should be drained out, and any who wish should go search the mud for eels and fish. Farcham Church is dedicated to St. Peter. At Itchen up to the end of the eighteenth century the fishermen kept the festival by carrying an image of the saint in procession; the church is dedicated to St. Mary.

At Hurstbourne Tarrant the May festivities were held, as I have mentioned (p. 297), a week after the Bourne Revel Monday. "Bourne Revel Sunday" was the first Sunday in July, for the church is dedicated to St. Peter, but the Monday following the old 12th July is the day assigned by rumour. The Bourne Revel Club continued the old custom, but the Revel died out early in the last century. Sports took place, and the chief prizes competed for were half-guinea hats! A platform was built over the stream by the Plough Inn, for wrestling and single-stick. Many noted wrestlers and adepts at "backsword-playing" would attend.⁴¹

Naturally St. Swithun, Winchester's special local saint, has due meed of attention on his day.

"If Swithun's day be fair and clear,
It betides a happy year;
If Swithun's day be dark with rain
Then will be dear all sorts of grain."⁴²

In some of the more lonely farms on the Downs harvest home is still maintained with much of its old festivities and ceremony. An old woman who lived in the neighbourhood of Lockford in her youth told a lady I met many stories of the good old days, and sang some of the old country songs. My friend afterwards sent me this ploughing song, and a variant of the Derby Ram, both favourites in that locality her old gossip said:—

'Up steps the Master with a smiling look,
"... It's time to unyoke.

⁴¹ *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, vol. xxi., p. 334.

⁴² Yonge, *An Old Woman's Outlook etc.*, p. 169.

Bring your horses in, and rub them down well,
 And you shall have a mug of my bonny brown ale."
 Up steps the Carter to the Master,—“I vow
 We've all ploughed our acre, I swear and I vow
 We're all jolly good fellows that follow your plough."
 Out came the Master with his scornful look,—
 “You've not ploughed your acre! I swear and I vow
 You're all damned lazy fellows that follow my plough.”

This seems to be a variant of the Wiltshire favourite
 “The Plough Boy.” I met a modern edition in Devonshire
 two years ago, and did not recognise it for the same song.

At St. Mary Bourne till the middle of the last century
 the last load was always carried to a chorus of:—

“Well ploughed, well sowed,
 Well reaped, well mowed,
 Not a load over *drowd* :
 Hip, hip, hurrah !
 Harvest home !”

and a very general harvest supper song was :

“Here's a health unto our Master, the founder of the feast,
 I hope to God with all my heart his soul in heaven may rest;
 That all his works may prosper that ever he takes in hand,
 For we are all his servants, and all at his command;
 Then drink, boys, drink, and mind that you do not spill,
 For if you do, you *shall* drink *two*, with a hearty free goodwill.

Chorus. Drink, boys, drink, etc.

And now we've drunk our Master's health our *Missus* shan't go
 free,

For I hope and trust her soul will rest in heaven as well as he:
 For she's a good provider, whatever she takes in hand,
 For we are all her servants, and all at her command;
 Then drink, boys, drink, and mind that you do not spill,
 For if you do, you *shall* drink *two*, with a hearty free goodwill.

Chorus. Then drink, etc.”

There is, or was till very recently, a curious custom in

the Twyford and Hursley districts on St. Clements' Day. The smiths exploded gunpowder on their anvils, and fired off guns. At Twyford they held a Clem Feast, a dinner for the smiths, and one feature of the entertainment was the reading of a curious story about a banquet given by Solomon to all the labourers of the Temple, from which the blacksmiths were excluded. They protested, and proved their claim by pointing to their work. After this they were admitted, when they had washed off their smuts.⁴³

At Otterbourne on St. Thomas's Day the poor mothers, Miss Yonge tells us, went round and demanded sixpences for Christmas dinner.

A farmer's wife in the neighbourhood of Crondall told me that there was always "singing on Crondall Church tower on Christmas," and I have a note of mummers playing in the same tower. At Freefolk and Longstock the mummers are known as the "Johnny Jacks"; and this was defined for me by the daughter of a local farmer as "when the chaps go round dressed in gaudy paper clothes and tall hats acting the fool." I regret to say I have carefully lost a note cut from a local paper with an account of carol singing on the tower of a church in, or near, Southampton, but I have notes of mummers at Netley, Hursley, Romsey, St. Mary Bourne, and in the Forest. The text of the Nursling mummers' play has been published; the words of the Romsey mummer play are given in the Lathom Ms. now in the British Museum; and Stevens⁴⁴ gives those of the St. Mary Bourne mummers or "Christmas Boys" from the opening:

"Oh! here come I, Old Father Christmas, welcome, or
welcome not,

I hope Old Father Christmas will never be forgot.

Make room! room! I say!

That I may lead Mince Pie this way."

⁴³ *Folk-Lore*, vol. xii., pp. 217, 344.

⁴⁴ *A parochial history of St. Mary Bourne etc.*, pp. 340-1.

to little Jack's final request :—

“Christmas comes but once a year,
And when it comes it brings good cheer :
Roast beef, plum pudding, and mince pie,
Who likes that any better than I ?
Christmas ale makes us dance and sing ;
Money in the purse is a very fine thing.

Ladies and Gentlemen, give us what you please.”

D. H. MOUTRAY READ.

COLLECTANEA.

COURTED BY THE DEVIL: A PERTHSHIRE FOLK-TALE.

[THE following tale is told in almost the exact words of my old nurse, Agnes M'Intosh, now aged 75. She knew Christina, or Kirstie, Murray, when the latter was an old, old woman, and my nurse only a young girl. Christina Murray's husband taught my nurse's father the tailoring trade. Glen Garr is four miles from my home.]

Christina Murray, or "Kirstie" they called her, was always fair rampageous for a man, and used to try Hallowe'en spells, and all they things. She was a farm servant at Niverton (near Bankfoot, Perthshire).

Christina Murray met her sweetheart in Glen Garr, close to Niverton, and He gave Himself out as a merchant from Perth. They had several meetings, and Kirstie agreed to elope with Him. She boasted of her fine sweetheart to the neighbours, who, remembering her old Hallowe'en tricks, asked her what kind of feet He had, and Kirstie, when she got the chance to look, saw it was cloven feet He had. This put her in a awful state of mind, and the day she was to elope with Him she was in such a state the farm people questioned her, and, when they heard what was wrong, sent off for the minister of Auchtergaven, their parish minister. He could make nothing of her, so he sent for Dr. Irving of Little Dunkeld parish, about 6 miles off. He came down, and he could make nothing of her. While he talked, a knock came at the window, and there was her sweetheart come for her. He and Dr. Irving quarrelled about it, and Dr. Irving made a circle on the floor with chalk and put her in the centre of

it with the Bible on her knee, and dared Him to enter it. Then He said He would have her, for He had the promise of her, and Dr. Irving said He wouldn't get her till the candle on the table (for it was dark by this time) had burned right done. So they all sat and watched, and, when the candle was just about burned done, Dr. Irving snapped it up, and swallowed it, so the candle never could burn done.

Then He went away from the farm, out of the window in a lump of fire, and landed in a farm on the opposite hill, about two miles off, a farm called Ardonachy. This farm went on fire that night, and they took the water from the duck pond to put it out, and, doing this, they found at the bottom of the pond human remains. They were thought to be the remains of an old packman that was lost several years before. The old packman was very wealthy, and had had a lot of money on him when he was lost, but there was no money found with the remains.

Well, a cousin of Kirstie's, who was a sweetheart of hers, was in India, and the night all this happened he couldn't get sleep for Kirstie calling him and something always pulling him out of bed. So, after some war, he was allowed to leave his regiment, and he came home and married her, and she made him a very good wife, and they had two sons, and one daughter, all of whom are now dead. She lived in Bankfoot, in a street called the Canny Row, and there were a lot of people watched to see if anything would happen when she died, but there was nothing happened. Some of the folk thought there might be trouble, that *He* would come for her.

[*Note.*—Dr. Irving, of the above story, figures in a great many tales of this neighbourhood, and had apparently several “deals with the devil”; hence he was sent for in Kirstie's emergency. My old nurse unfortunately never “dared” to ask Kirstie Murray about this story, known all over Bankfoot, but she says she heard her father discussing with Kirstie's husband the night in India when he could not sleep.]

MARY GRACE UNDERWOOD.

Heath Park, Birnam, Perthshire.

A FOLKLORE SURVEY OF COUNTY CLARE (*continued from*
p. 213).

XVI. *Patterns and Religious Rites.*

THE three chief *patterns*, (or religious rites at wells and holy places), were held on Iniscatha or Scatterry Island in the Shannon, at Killone near Ennis, and on Iniscaltra in Lough Derg. To all three thousands of persons came from Clare, Kerry, and more distant counties, until by degrees dissipation crept in and the clergy suppressed the festivals, leaving only a purely devotional shadow.

The Scatterry pattern was held at the beginning of March, and celebrated St. Senan's victory over the "Cata" monster.¹ Its best record is a stone, which I last saw and sketched in 1875 in a garden at Naboclisk Lodge in Kilkee, to which it had been brought from Kilrush by the late Capt. Kennedy. It had been brought over from the island to Kilrush when the pattern was suppressed by Dean Kenny,—some say in 1810 and others "before 1827," though the pattern was still celebrated in 1816. John Windele some sixty years ago thus copied it:—

"In the name of God, Amen | Bare head, bare feet, all pious Christians are to kneel | At every station say or read, five Paters, Aves and a Creed | Five times round each blessed place | singing hymns and partner (? pater) beads. | Round the altar is a first | And two noted stations on the strand annex (? are next). | Round the Island on the water's edge : | Fourth, the Nun's² tomb on the strand du (*sic*) west. | Whoever kneels and read (*sic*) a prayer will not meet a watery grave. | Bringing up a stone to Monument Hill³ perform there and that's the fifth. | Sixth, N. East a place called Laoth⁴ and at our Lady's church women stop. | Eighth, the large church. Ninth is the S^{rs} (? Saviour's). Tenth is the bed called St. Synan's grave.⁵ | The well is eleventh finish and pray for ye souls of ye erectors of this blessed place."

¹ Cf. vol. xxi., p. 477.

² St. Cannara, buried on the strand as the saint would not permit her to land on the island.

³ Knocknanangel to the south of the cathedral.

⁴ Lacht.

⁵ No woman dared approach, and still less enter, St. Senan's church, the most northern of the group. For a description and plan see *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxvii., pp. 276-89. "S. F." says, (*The Dublin University Magazine*, vol. xviii., p. 547), that no woman dares to approach the Lady's Well.

The names Thomas, James, and Patt. Cusack, and carvings of the round tower, Crucifixion, an angel, and a figure with a chalice, also appeared, as well as St. Senan with a crozier driving out a beast with a serrated back, belly, and tail, and the inscription "St. Synon and the Angel casting the amphibious beast out of the blessed Island." I could not find the stone after 1878. The devotees in 1816 took their rounds about the holy well annually on their bare knees, and it was the practice of those who could not conveniently attend to hire for a small payment some poor person to act as their substitute. The pattern was sometimes held on Easter Monday, and, as it was degenerating into drunkenness, the Roman Catholic Dean of Killaloe endeavoured to stop it.⁶ His curate also persuaded several women to enter St. Senan's church, but their families were soon after evicted and left the Island, so that the fame of the saint's legendary misogyny was established more firmly than ever. But in 1878, when I first visited the Island, women entered the church without protest.

At Killone the great patterns have been long since suppressed,⁷ and I could learn nothing about the actual rites. "Rounds" are still performed at other times, being frequently vowed in sickness or for a sick relative. The rite consists in going on the bare knees, with bare head, sunwise round the green tongue of land from the altar between the crags and the lake. This being done, prayers are offered at the altar itself. Some pilgrims also wash their heads, feet, and hands in the bathing tank. The details vary according to the vow, and count is kept of the rounds and prayers by the rounded stones on the altar.⁸ None of the observances seem to extend to the neighbouring abbey. The Pilgrim's Road is still visible, running north from the well far towards Ennis. The altar was last repaired by Anthony Roche, an Ennis merchant, in 1731.

The patterns on Iniscaltra, in Lough Derg, have long been nearly forgotten. In 1877 an old boatman told me that he had heard from old people of the flotillas of boats from every side of the great lake, the villages of tents, and the crowds of beggars,

⁶ Mason's *Parochial Survey*, vol. ii., p. 459, under Kilrush parish.

⁷ The summer pattern on St. John's Day still attracts a fair number of devotees, but seems to have no very exceptional feature.

⁸ Cf. *ante*, p. 50, and Plate III.

devotees, and merrymakers. A legend was then told how a wild young squire of the Brady family in attempting to carry off a lovely peasant girl from the pattern was overtaken by the vengeance of St. Caimin. The boat was upset by a squall, and the squire and his "understrapper" (a foster-brother) were drowned; the girl and boatman clung to the keel, and floated ashore unharmed. The local horror of the sacrilege was emphasized by the gruesome addition that, when "the young master" was waked in the "big house" and the foster-brother in the barn, all stole away to the better entertainment, and, when the barn was unlocked in the morning, the bare skeleton of the instigator of the outrage was found covered with rats and *keerogues* (black-beetles). The horrible "turf rick legend"⁹ says that the Iniscaltra pattern lasted for three days.

Other less famous patterns were held on the sandhills near Lehinch in honour of St. MacCreehy. The celebration got shifted to "Garland Sunday" (*Domhnach cruim áuibh*, the last in July), and to the honour of St. Brigit of Kildare. It was finally replaced by races, which at Kilnaboy and elsewhere may also represent degenerated patterns.

At St. Lachtin's well, near Miltown Malbay, a few poor old people may be seen, especially on Sundays and Thursdays, making "rounds." These are usually two sets of five each,—the first on the causeway round the well, and the second on a wider circle "sunwise." The devotees take off their shoes, stockings, and hats, (or, if women, their shawls and bonnets), and start for the well repeating the prescribed prayers. They climb to kiss a cross on the branch of one of the weird old weather-bent trees in the hollow, and, lastly, pour water from the well on their faces, hands, and feet.¹⁰

Patterns were held near the very early church of Termonchronain, near Castletown in the Burren, and, not many miles away, on the last day of summer "rounds" are performed at the two altars of the oratory of St. Colman MacDuach at Kinallia.¹¹ Stations were held till late years at Kilmoon, and at Tobermogua,

⁹ Cf. vol. xxi., p. 348.

¹⁰ *Limerick Field Club Journal*, vol. iii., p. 15.

¹¹ Cf. *ante*, p. 50, and Plate IV.

and at Noughaval, both in Burren. At the last well a huge hollow ash collapsed before 1896, and the fragments rooted and grew up into considerable trees; the pattern was on Feb. 10th. The stations at Kilcarnan Hospital near Kilfenora had nearly ceased by 1839. In that year the *Ordnance Survey Letters* record others at Tobermacraven well, in Kilshanny parish; Clooney, Corcomroe; Moy, Ibrickan, (Sundays and Thursdays); Tobernamorha, at Moyasta Creek; St. Martin's well at Kilinny or Claresfield in Moyarta;¹² Toberkeereen, Killoffin, (on Sundays); and Ballynagun, Tobermurry in Drimeliky, and Tobersenan in Carhoo, these three being in Kilmacduan. We have little information about these rites in eastern Clare, but stations subsisted in 1839 at Uggoon; St. Brigit's well, Kiltanon; the Tobermochullas at Knockdumleague and Fortanne; St. Senan's well, Killaneena, Clonlea; and at Kilseily. Although opposed by the parish priest, stations were also held at Tobermaleery, south from Newmarket-on-Fergus.

Somewhat different from ordinary patterns are those held on Sundays at Lough Fergus.¹³ A credo, paternoster, and other prayers are said, and then the devotees make a circuit round certain cairns, one called the "altar" having a rude "cross" at which the "rounds" commence. There is also a well, Toberlonan, a little more than a mile from the lake near Clooney church (Corcomroe), at which "rounds" are performed, but these are reputed to be useless until after the rites are done at the lake, with which the well is supposed to communicate by a long passage. It is possible that the Lough, being the source of the chief river in County Clare, was an object of worship in early times, as no church nor saint is connected with the shore and cairns, and the "cross" is natural.

There are "rounds" at other wells, but these depend for their time and details on the devotee, who very often does not know even the name of the patron of the well.

¹² Moyasta and Moyarta (Moyfertagh) are at opposite ends of the parish of the latter name.

¹³ An excellent account, with a photograph of the "altar" and "cross," was published by Dr. George U. MacNamara in the *Limerick Field Club Journal*, vol. ii., p. 217.

XVII. *Religious Objects and their Legends.*

Clare was once rich in religious objects, and some important ones have survived until our times, such as the Bell Shrine of St. Senan, the croziers of St. Blathmac of Rath and St. Tola of Dysert O'Dea, and the bells of Rath, Burren, and Kilshanny,—all, except the last, in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, besides the reputed bell of Iniscatha.¹⁴ St. Colman MacDuach and St. Lachtin were also closely connected with the county, and the crozier of the first and shrine of the arm of the second are preserved in the Irish collection. We read in early records how the Norse, in their destruction of the monastery of Iniscaltra in 922, “drowned its relics and shrines” in Lough Derg. The early *Life of St. Senan* tells how his bell descended ringing from heaven, and the place where this is reputed to have happened is still shown at Cross, between Kildimo and Farighy. The richly-enshrined crozier of St. Flannan of Killaloe (c. 680), and the bell brought from Rome by St. MacCreehy (c. 620), were extant when their *Lives* were written in the middle of the twelfth century. Early in the seventh century “the relics of Columb, son of Crimthann, were brought in a wain” to Caimin of Iniscaltra.¹⁵ There were a number of relics and a bell “gold-enshrined” at Tulla in 1318.¹⁶ Recent legend tells of the bells of the round towers of Dromcliff and Kilnaboy being hidden in the pool of Poulaclog and the marsh below the latter monastery, and of a silver bell of Kilmoon or Killeany, in the Burren, hidden in the stream named from it Owennaclugga. A brass bell found in the round tower of Dysert was sold in Limerick about 1837. The Black Bell of the MacNamaras was probably one of the relics at Tulla, and may be the one attributed to St. Mochulla in 1141. The “Black Book” of that saint was probably a register, and existed down to 1627, when it was used (and disappeared) in a lawsuit

¹⁴ It was exhibited in Dublin in 1853 by a Mr. John Cooke, and sold to the British Museum. There is no local tradition attached to it.

¹⁵ *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, “Calendar of Oengus,” (early ninth century, ed. Whitley Stokes), under Dec. 13, p. 182; also published by Henry Bradshaw Society.

¹⁶ *Cathreim Thoirdhealbhaigh*:—“Tullach nan espoc sanctified by bell and precious mass, by relic, gold-enshrined, by rare piety and notable miracles.”

of the Delahoydes. The shrine of St. Lachtin's arm,¹⁷ made for Cormac MacCarthy, king of Munster between 1118-27, was preserved in his church at Kilnamona, and about 1640 removed to Lislachtin Abbey in Kerry; no folklore seems attached to it. The crozier of St. Blawfugh, i.e. Blathmac, son of Onchu, was preserved at Rath, near Corofin, and then in a hole in the wall of the old chapel of Corofin, where it was used for very solemn swearing and was much feared. The crozier of St. Manaula (Bán Thola) of Dysert was purchased from an old woman, daughter of an O'Quin, its last hereditary keeper, and was held in great reverence for cures and as an object upon which oaths were taken. The most important of all these relics is the Clog-an-oir, or "golden bell,"¹⁸ the empty bell shrine preserved by the Keanes of Beechpark, one of whom had married the daughter of one of the Keanes or O'Cahans the "coarbs" (*comharba*) or successors of St. Senan. It consists of a bronze cover of the twelfth century, adorned by later silver plates, and violation of an oath taken on this shrine twisted the perjurer's face or resulted in convulsions and death. It is told that a gentleman living in County Galway sent his servant to borrow the "bell" to test his servants about a theft. His messenger happened to be the thief, and on the way home again threw the dreaded object into the sea. He then boldly told his master that the Keanes would not lend it. "You are a liar," was the reply, "for there it is on the table before you." The man fell on his knees, and confessed. It was last asked for in 1834, when a farmer had been robbed of twenty pounds, and borrowed the "bell" to swear the neighbours after Mass. On the Saturday night before the ordeal his family was awakened by a crash, as something was thrown in through the window. This proved to be the missing notes, tied with the original string. There are many similar stories, and the Clog-an-oir is said to have been stolen, but to have always returned to its rightful owners.¹⁹

¹⁷ An illustration of this was published by Vallancey in 1770. See Mr. Geo. Coffey's *Guide to the Christian Antiquities in the Collection of the Royal Irish Academy*, pp. 53-4, 60-2, and for the croziers of Dysert and Rath and bell of Rath, *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxiv., pp. 337-9.

¹⁸ *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxx., pp. 237-44.

¹⁹ Much of this information came from Mr. Marcus Keane of Beechpark, the present possessor, and the remainder from the paper cited in note 18.

XVIII. *Animal and Plant Superstitions.*

I have had occasion to search, in Irish works of pre-Tudor date, for sidelights on the early fauna of Ireland, and the results, so far, are meagre. There is constant reference to dogs, cattle, horses, deer, and wolves, but rarely do any but the hound put on any definite shape. Even the bull plays little more part in the *Tain bo Cualgne* than Briseis does in the *Iliad*, and generally the animal is a mere appendage to an incident.

Cattle.—Place-names give us little information save as to the custom of driving the animals up to the hills in the summer time, Mount Callan being girt by a series of "Boolies" (*i.e.* milking places),²⁰ usually qualified by some phrase such as "of the sun" or "of the sea-gulls." The cow was the practical unit of value in olden times, three cows being worth a woman-slave, and a single one the "ounce," which seems to have been an imaginary standard. Legendary cows, such as the Glasgeivnagh and Glas gamhnach, play a large part in the traditions, the hoofmarks of the latter pitting all the rocks of eastern Burren and its borders. Another supernatural cow predominates in the extreme west of the barony, near Crumlin. The Seven Streams of Teeskagh were said to originate from the exuberant milk of a "Glas." Supernatural bulls and water cattle have already been dealt with.²¹

The most remarkable customs relating to cattle centre round Lough Fergus. Along its north shore stand twelve cairns in an irregular line. On the eighth from the east end are two natural stones resembling a small chair and a cross, named after St. Forgas, (who appears in none of the calendars and is perhaps a river-spirit). Along with these are put a china image, bits of iron,

²⁰ Boulavaun (white milking ground), Boulinruda (red place), Boolinduff (black), Boulynamiscawn (of the dish), and Boulynagreana (sunny) at Callan; Booltiagh, Boolybrien, Boolynagleeragh (of the clergy), Boolyknockaun, Boolyneaska (of the eels), and Cloonbooley in Kilmaley; Boultiaghine in Kilnaboy, (but the inhabitants say that Booltiagh means "mired by cattle" not "milking place"); Boulynamwella (of sea-gulls) in Kilmihil; Booltydoolan in Killadyser; and Boolleevin (pleasant) in Kilkeedy. In east Clare the name is rare, Boolynacausk (of the Easter sports), in Slieve Bernagh, being the only one known to me.

²¹ Vol. xxi., pp. 480-1.

buttons, and broken crockery. Patients sit in the "chair" to cure lumbago. It is believed that the water of this lake cannot be boiled and that no one can be drowned by it, and sixty or seventy years ago cattle were cured by it. The beasts were brought in herds to the lake to drink, and were driven into it. If they turned to the right hand they would recover, but not if they swam to the left. It is said that on one occasion a cow sank, but was found next day grazing in a field beside the lake, completely cured. In consequence of drainage works, the water level has fallen, and the mud round the shore is too deep to allow the cattle to be driven through it, so on May Day every year, before sunrise, a little crowd gathers, of perhaps over 100 persons, to fill bottles with the water for curing cattle, especially of "the worm." The water keeps good till the next anniversary, and is also used to give a "good churning" and to clear a "garden" of caterpillars.²²

In 1839 Lough Iona (now Eenagh) was reputed to cure sick cattle on Mondays and Thursdays.²³ In 1808 the smiths were in some districts employed to kill the cattle,—or rather to feli them for slaying,—and their perquisites were the animals' heads.²⁴

Persons over sixty years of age are often firm believers in the charming away, or "taking," of milk and butter. The younger folk usually deny that they hold this belief, and, where they take part in quarrels caused by it, avowedly only do so to support their elders. Two families living in the south-east corner of the county had about 1890 a quarrel resulting in a serious feud, hardly as yet appeased. It seems that for about three years the cows of the first household gave but little milk, and that little so bad and unwholesome for pigs and calves that several died. Ordinary veterinary practitioners, and even the local "knowing men," did no good, so the farmer sought a "wise man" of renown in another parish. This sage directed his client to watch the local well all May Eve, and to let no one come near it till after midnight. The farmer and his sons hid near it, saw a man and a woman of the

²² *The Journal of the Limerick Field Club*, vol. ii.

²³ *Ordnance Survey Letters*, (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 161.

²⁴ Hely Dutton, *Statistical Survey of the County of Clare*, p. 359. The smith was a magician amongst the Irish, and the ancient *St. Patrick's Lorica* prays against the spells of "smiths, women, and druids."

suspected family coming to the well, and sprang out and bade the newcomers keep away. The parties quarrelled, and were reinforced, as the news spread, by all the women, children, dogs, and sympathisers of both families. At last guns and hay-forks were brought, and blood was on the point of being shed, when some one found that midnight had passed, and the contestants at once went home. The cattle gave good milk all that year, and the well was watched on succeeding May Eves with equally good results. The bitterness is said to have died out round the well some years ago, but is still apparent between the households in other matters.²⁵

A charm to cure "slow churning" has already been described.²⁶ In 1892 a horrible case of stirring milk with a dried human hand in order to "bring butter" was reported from the Kilkee district, but I could never learn the details. A similar practice somewhat earlier, near Oola on the borders of Limerick and Tipperary, was brought to light after the death of a farmer by a quarrel, ending at the sessions, between his three sons for the possession of the ghastly object.

The method of "taking butter" practised near Craighbrien, to the south of Ennis, was to take a hair from the tail of each of the victim's cows on May morning, twist the hairs together, and dip them in the milk.²⁷ I heard of a protective knotting of seven hairs in each cow's tail near Edenvale in the same district, and of a magic dashing of water over the churn when the butter was slow to come,—an excellent natural aid in hot weather. The greasy substance called "May butter," lying on the grass with the dew, was used for milk charms near Clonlara. I heard of it more definitely at Kenry, County Limerick, where a woman gathered it in her apron, and a hare was seen rolling and rubbing itself in the "May butter"; the hare, when pursued, turned into a local witch. If you come into a house where churning is in progress, you should always "put your hand to the churn," *i.e.* give a few strokes

²⁵ So told to me by the late Hugh Massy Westropp, who, as nearest magistrate, had to intervene to keep the peace on more than one occasion, and was called up to the well on one May Eve.

²⁶ Vol. xxi., pp. 195-6, as told by the late Miss W. Westropp of Fortanne.

²⁷ So late Mrs. Stacpoole of Edenvale.

with the churn "dash," and if you are smoking you should finish the pipe in the house, or you may "take" the butter. There is still living to the south of Ennis a man who is afraid to touch a churn lest the butter should "go away," and he get the discredit of "butter-taking." (I may boast myself of the repute of having "the lucky hand" that "brings" the butter quickly.) Long ago the O'Briens of Kells near Corofin told the late Dr. G. U. Mac-Namara of the latter place how one "Donogho buidhe" (yellow Donal), a local "fairy man," being offended one day about getting a glass of whiskey, left the house angrily. After his exit no amount of churning would bring the butter. He was pursued and appeased, and took a bit of paper from under the churn, when the butter came at once. In a case in the Tulla district in which a farmer's butter was "taken," he consulted the priest, by whose direction he searched in the corner of his corn-field, and found a small sheaf with a hazel rod in it. After destroying this the butter "came" in great abundance.²⁸

THOS. J. WESTROPP.

²⁸ Cf. *ante*, p. 58.

(To be continued.)

FIFTY HAUSA FOLK-TALES (*continued*).

42. *The Girl, the Snake, and the Pigeon.* (U. G.)

Some young girls had assembled. They went to the forest, and climbed up a tree. Then a Snake (string of the ground) came and stretched himself around the trunk of the tree. He was looking for a certain one called Talele; because of her popularity he wanted to swallow her.¹ So, when one of the girls descended, she said,—“O Snake, I am not Talele. Give me room to pass.” He gave her room, and she went off; he said it was Talele whom he wanted. Another then came,

¹ And so become popular himself. Talele means “loved one.”

and said,—“O Snake, I am not Talele. Give me room to pass.” He gave her room, and she went; he said it was she, Talele, whom he wanted. Another came also,—all went by except Talele. She alone (was left) in the tree. Then a Pigeon came, and said,—“If a man does you a good turn, you return evil, but I will do you a good turn. Have you heard what the young girls have been saying? Now take off all your waistcloths and give me, (and) I will bring them to you at your house. So she took them off and gave (them) to her. Then she descended towards (from) the earth a little; then she said,—“O Snake, I am not Talele. Give me room to pass.” So he gave her room, and she went by and went home. Then the Pigeon from above said to the Snake,—“You see me. I am Talele, but I am off.” Then he lost his temper, he bit off his tail, and he died there. Then the Pigeon flew away and came to Talele’s house. Then she said,—“That is over. Here are your clothes.” Talele said she would give her five slaves. She (Pigeon) said she did not want them. Then she (Pigeon) said what she wanted was, if she came to peck some grain, let some be thrown on the ground for her, and when she had finished she would fly away. So she always used to come, and she was given grain. One day Talele went away to see her friend in the town. Then the Pigeon came to her house, (the house of) her, Talele. When she had come, an old woman in Talele’s house got up and hit the Pigeon, and the Pigeon died. Talele returned, and, when she had returned, she said,—“Who has hit this Pigeon?” Then they said it was her grandmother. Then Talele took a knife and cut open her stomach, and she died, because the Pigeon had been killed. They were quits.²

43. *The tender-hearted Girl and the Fish.* (S. D.)

A certain man went to the river to catch fish. He brought one home, and gave it to his wife. She said to her rival’s daughter,—“Get up. Go to the stream, and wash the fish. If you let him go, when you come back home I will thrash you.” The girl went to the river and began to wash the fish. The fish said,—“You, Girl,

²Lit. “Their good turn (or promise) had become one.”

will you not set me free that I may go and give my young ones suck?" The girl said,—“Very well. Go.” She waited until the fish returned, and said,—“Now, pick me up, and let us go.” She said,—“Oh, no, go away.” He said,—“I heard what was said to you, that you would be beaten.” She said,—“Fish, go away.” Then he said to the girl,—“Good-bye till to-morrow. Come in the morning.” The girl went home. They seized her, and beat her. Her father said,—“Leave her alone. God will give us another to-morrow.” Then in the morning she arose and went to the fish. The fish had assembled all his relatives, that they might come and see the girl who had set him free. All the relatives came. There were many of them (they were collected). Then he called the girl, and said,—“Come.” The girl went. He said,—“Now, see the one who saved my life. I was caught, and it was said I should be cooked. I was given to her that she might come and wash me. Then she set me free. So I said,—“You come all of you and see her and thank her.”” He said,—“Go home. If you are hungry, you come here until the night (moon) of the feast comes.” The night of the feast came (the moon stayed, *i.e.* was new), and they were going to (where the dances) games (were to be held), the kind which the children in the town (do).³ Then he said,—“If they go to the dances, you come to me.” They went off to the dance. An old cloth had been taken and given to the rival's daughter, but as for her (the wife's) daughter she had been given a new waist-cloth to put on. As for her, she went to the fish with the old waist-cloth, she the rival's daughter. The fish gave her a lot of finery. The girl went to the dance, and looked very fine. Then the chief sent and said that (was the) girl he wanted to marry. She said,—“Very well. Go to my father's house. I was not born in the playground.” Then the king sent his counsellors to go to the father's house. Then the father said,—“Oh, no, I have no daughter whom the chief would like.” Then she (the wife) said to her daughter,—“Go and run home. Do you not hear

³ Dances are always held at these times, and the people dress up in all their finery. One favourite Hausa dance is that in which several parties of four girls stand in a circle, and each one of every four takes it in turn to do a *pas-de-seul* in the centre, and to fall backwards and be caught by the other three. After a girl has done this twice, the next one does it, and so on.

that the King wants you?" She said,—“Oh, no, it is not I, (it is) another. The chief saw her where they were dancing.” They came and arranged for the marriage. The King gave the rival riches. They said,—“Let her be taken and brought to the chief.” Then in the evening she (the rival's daughter) went and ran to the fish and told him, and said,—“I have been married to the chief.” The fishes said,—“Thank God;” they said,—“Go to the chief's house. To-morrow we shall come.” She said,—“Very well.” In the morning they all assembled, and he told his relatives what had happened. They collected grain. Then in the evening, when night had come, they sent and said,—“Let nobody from the chief's house go outside at night.” They took the flour of grain, and brought it to the girl. They all collected cloths, and brought (them) to her. Then the women of the chief's house in the evening seized the girl's hands and cut them off, because of (their) jealousy, and said,—“Look at the chief's wife. She has no hands.” She (girl) roused her chamber-maid, and said,—“Go to the fish, and tell her (see) what has happened to me. They have cut off both my two hands.” When the fish heard, they said,—“Now, since she did not bring sadness to us, she also will not have any.” When midnight came, the fishes took the road, and came to the house. They restored her hands to her. When day broke, the women said,—“Let them be given guinea-corn to pound up.” They said,—“Let the bride be called to come and pound (the guinea-corn).” The bride came out. They thought she had not two hands, but she took the pestle, and they saw she had hands. Then other people (who) had heard them say she had no hands laughed at the jealous women. They were laughed at until they were ashamed. She merely ignored them, and returned to the chief.

44 *The Girl who stole the Snake's Egg.* (B. G.)

This is about a certain girl who went and found a Snake's egg and took it. Then the Snake arose and followed her, saying “*Ta mulu mulu*,⁴ Girl, give me my egg.” Then the girl (began) running till she came to some Hoes which were hoeing of their own accord. Then they said,—“O Girl, what are you running

⁴ *Mulu* is said to signify fat, and the translation might be “O fat girl,” but the narrator was unable to explain it.

(from)?” Then she said,—“Something.” Then they said,—“Oh, do you not see we are hoeing of our own accord. If he comes, we will kill (cut) him.” So the girl went to one side, and squatted down. Then over there (they heard) the Snake saying,—“*Ta mulu mulu*, O Girl, give me my egg.” They said,—“What is that?” Then she said,—“Ah, that is what I was running (from).” Then they said,—“Ah, you run away. We shall hide.” So the girl ran away, and went and came upon some Axes which were splitting rocks. They said,—“O Girl, what are you running (from)?” Then she said,—“Something.” Then they said,—“Oh, do you not see that we are splitting stones. If he comes, shall we not split him?” So she remained. Then over there (they heard) the Snake saying,—“*Ta mulu mulu*, O Girl, give me my egg.” They said,—“What is that?” Then she said,—“Ah, that is what I was running from.” Then they said,—“Ah, you run away. We shall hide.” So the girl ran on, and on, and went and came upon a Centipede, who was digging (farming) and singing,—“Pull out, pull out uselessly” (the pulling out of uselessness). So he said,—“O Girl, what are you running (from)?” Then she said,—“Something.” Then it said,—“Oh, do you not see I am pulling (weeds?) out? Come back, (and) stay here.” Then over there (he heard) the Snake saying,—“*Ta mulu mulu*. O Girl, give me my egg.” Then he said,—“What is that?” Then she said,—“Ah, that is what I was running (from).” He said,—“All right.” He (Centipede) did not pay any attention to him (Snake). He (kept on) singing (he was his song),—“Pull out, pull out uselessly.” Then the Snake said,—“Here, you, give me my booty.”⁵ Then he said,—“The booty of your (*terms of abuse*).” Then the Snake said,—“I?” So he said,—“You.” Then the Snake said,—“Right. You will see what the son of (*term of abuse*) can do” (the work of). Then the Snake took the Centipede and swallowed (him). But he came out of the pupil of the Snake’s eye, and started singing,—“Pull out, pull out uselessly.” Then the Snake again swallowed him, but he emerged from the middle of the head. “Pull out, pull out uselessly.” Then he (once) more swallowed him, but he emerged from his stomach. “Pull out, pull out uselessly.” The Snake fell down

⁵ *Ajjia* is really something which has been left for safe keeping.

and died. So he (Centipede) said,—“Now, Girl, you may go home.”

45. *The Girl who married a Snake.* (B. G.)

This is about a certain maiden. (In the) whole town (there was) not her equal in beauty,⁶ (not in) the whole town. (Of) every youth everyone came seeking (her) in marriage. Then she said her marriage was not for money. She said,—“(I shall marry) only him who, (when) his body has been washed and examined all over, not one blemish will be found. All the youths came from this town, and that town, and the other town. Their bodies were examined, (and of them) all there was not one (he) who had not a blemish. So she said her husband was not amongst them. Then two Snakes in the forest heard the news. So they changed into men, and came and said they had come to plead their suits. Then one was washed. His body was examined; from foot to eye there was no blemish, not even one. So she said,—“Very well. That was (to be) her husband.” Then her younger sister said she would follow her, but she (maiden) said,—“Do not follow me and spoil my happiness.”⁷ Then the younger sister changed into a fly, and got inside her load. So they were travelling on and on in the bush, and came to an ant-(hill), and the man said,—“Knock down the ant-(hill), and get the flour from inside for us to eat.” So she took it, and mixed it for them, and they drank (it). Then they went to their home. When they had got home she put down her load.⁸ When she had put down her load, she saw her younger sister come out. Then she said,—“Oh, I forbade you to follow me here. Yet you have followed me to ruin my happiness?” So she ignored her, and said,—“I shall allow you to stay with me, but, if I see you are going to ruin my happiness, I shall drive you away home” (you return home). They lived thus. The men used to go to the stream with the Snakes, and eat frogs. Now the younger sister climbed up a tree near the water, where they were eating frogs.⁹ She sang to them, saying,—“I salute you, husbands

⁶ Lit. “(There was) not the owner of her beauty.”

⁷ “Kill to me marriage.” See footnote to story 12.

⁸ The woman always carries the load.

⁹ And, apparently, changed into a bird.

of my elder sister." Then they said,—“This bird (is) a sweet singer (the owner of a sweet song, or singing). When we have eaten our wife, we shall give you the head.” So she went and told her elder sister, and said,—“Now your husbands (are) Snakes, they will eat you.” Then she (maiden) said,—“Oh, have you begun? When you came I said you would ruin my happiness.” Then she (younger sister) said,—“Well, if you say I am lying, when the sun rises and they have gone to the stream I shall go with you, and we can climb the tree.” So she said,—“Very well.” When the sun had risen, and the men had gone, she and her younger sister made a *détour*, and came to the tree on which the younger sister used to stand and used to sing to them.⁹ So, when the men had become Snakes, they swallowed frogs. Then the younger sister said,—“Now let me sing to them, and you listen to what they will say.” So she said,—“I salute you, husbands of my elder sister.” Then they said,—“This bird is a sweet singer. When we have eaten our wife, we shall give you the head.” Then she said,—“Now, did you hear what they said?” She said,—“Yes, I have heard.” Then she said,—“Let us go home, let us run away.” So they went and ran on, and on, and on. They wanted to return home, they the elder and the younger sister. Then the Snakes returned, and did not see them, and said,—“Oh, the meat is gone.” So they changed entirely into Snakes, and began to run, and they overtook them. When they had overtaken them, the younger sister hit her elder sister with (her) hand, and she changed and became a stump with roots. Then the friend¹⁰ said,—“Ah, here is a stump with roots.” Then he said,—“Let us return home, and get an axe and cut it down.” When they had gone back home, her younger sister hit her, and she became a human being again. Before the Snakes had returned, she the elder and the younger sister had crossed the stream at the gate of their town. Then the Snakes saw that they had no chance of getting to them, so they cursed them (sent curses to their place). They said,—“You were choosing. We wanted to eat you.” Then the Snakes returned to the forest. The young women entered the town. The elder

⁹ And, apparently, changed into birds.

¹⁰ Apparently the Snake who did not marry her; both appear to have been regarded as her husband.

sister said,—“Now (as for) me, I shall not again choose a husband. Even if I be given a leper I shall agree.” That was because she had been punished.¹¹

¹¹ Cf. Cronise and Ward, *Cunnie Rabbit, Mr. Spider and the Other Bees*, pp. 178-86.

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(*To be continued.*)

RAIN-STOPPING IN MANIPUR.

IN the village of Moirang lives Konjengbam Narain Singh, who claims that the power of stopping rain has been hereditary in his family for many generations. In the old Rajas' times the Rain-Stopper was exempt from all compulsory labour, and held a written order to this effect, but this was burnt when his house caught fire, and, as the people of the village no longer exempt him from his share of the common tasks, he refuses to exercise his powers.

If he desires to stop the rain, he first appeals to Sanamahi, who, in the Manipuri legend of “The man who shot the sun” as given by Mr. Hodson in *The Meitheiis*,¹ is described as the mother of the Sun, but who is here spoken of as a male deity or *Lai*, with great power over the forces of nature. His method of procedure is as follows:—

A piece of white cloth, one *lam* (*i.e.* the distance from the tips of the fingers of one hand to those of the other across the chest when the arms are held out level with the shoulders) in length, is folded up and placed on a stone to form a seat for the *Lai*. In front of it are placed two circular pieces of plantain leaf, on one of which is some betel nut and pan leaf and on the other pieces of some fruit, and beside these is placed a small lamp. The Rain-Stopper, standing in front and facing the offerings, addresses the *Lai* thus:—“*Sibo linga Sri Swar Sanamahi, Sibō linga Sri Swar Thangjing, maikei ngakpa Bishnu He! Narayan.*” *Sibo linga*, I am told, means Siva's lingam, and Sanamahi is a Manipuri household deity. *Thangjing* is the chief god of Moirang, *maikei ngakpa* meaning protector of all directions. The

¹ P. 125.

mixture of Hindu deities, Siva, Vishnu, and Narayan, with the *Umang Lai* or forest gods of the Manipuris, is typical of the religious muddle in which the people are.

The Rain-Stopper claims that, if the rain stops with this charm, he can prevent it from raining again as long as the lamp remains burning and the articles remain untouched, and he keeps on saying the charm at intervals. He claims to have once, at harvest time, kept off rain thus for three months. [The harvest comes in December, the driest part of the year.]

Should Sanamahī prove unwilling or unable to stop the rain, recourse is had to Sorarel, the god of the sky, whose *pūja* (worship) is rather more elaborate. An earthen pot is half filled with sand, and this is placed over the fire, used for warmth and not for cooking, the hearth having been first freshly plastered over and the fire lit afresh. Above the hearth a light platform is constructed on which reposes the book containing the ritual of Rain-Stopping. The Rain-Stopper stirs the sand with a rice spoon on which the words *Ong karo Ong karo* have been inscribed, and while he does so he mutters the following charm,—“*Brahma, nang chako, Hangso nang tumo*” (i.e. “Brahma you burn, O Soul wear away”). It was explained to me that, as the sand and the book were warmed by the fire, so it was hoped that Sorarel would warm the earth and the air. If both the preceding performances have no result, there remains only *nong-kamba*, (i.e. rain-stopping). The words *Ong karo Ong karo* are written on a billet of wood, and the Rain-Stopper goes out into an open place and twirls it round his head till he notices a break in the clouds. He then observes in what direction the clouds seem to be moving, and waves them in that direction with his stick, at the same time ordering them off. A wind then rises and blows them away. Sometimes the rain is obstinate, and the poor Rain-Stopper told me he had been kept at work for three days before the rain stopped.

While twirling his staff the Rain-Stopper shouts,—“*Gurugi thang di chumthangne. Gurugi chunggoi di leichinne. Leichin nongphai kaibane. Sethaiu setnumu. Thangjing thang di tondumba, Nongpok thang di chinaiba, Mapugi thang di tongonba, haikup, haiphra. Thabat, thabat hiragi di thangne haidatlo. Ong Durga*

Debi kapacheyo! Swarha, Ong Jadurakha Debi, kapacheyo. Swarha Ong Debi, kapacheyo, Swarha! Durga gi thangne segāk segāk khaio! khaio! tumo. Gurugi thang di chumthangne. Gurugi chunggoi di leichinne. Leichin nongphai kaibane. Sethatu settumu," the meaning of which is, "The Guru's sword, it is the rainbow. The Guru's shield, it is the clouds. The rain clouds are divided. Divide, destroy (them). Thangjing's sword is pointed, Nongpok's sword is three-pronged, the master's sword is curved, twirl glittering, twirl scattering. Apart! Apart! With jewel sword whirling cut. Ong Durga Devi, charm away! Swarha, Ong Jadurakha Devi, charm! Swarha Ong Devi, charm! With Durga's sword divide and break the clouds in pieces. The Guru's sword, it is the rainbow. The Guru's shield, it is the clouds. The rain clouds are divided." The extraordinary mixture of Sanskrit words with the Manipuri invocation, and the impartial appeal to gods of the Hindu Pantheon and the local divinities, exactly show the religion of the people. The Brahman and the Maiba carry on their vocations without interfering with each other, the former being ministers in the orthodox way to the Hindu divinities, while the latter has absolute control of the worship of the local gods and goddesses.

In the *Manipur Chronicle*, written, be it remembered, by the official chronicler of the Manipuri kings, we read of the advent of the first Brahman from Assam in 1704-5 A.D., and his success in winning the approval of the Raja and his ministers. In 1707-8 we read of the first temples being built and of sacred monkeys being maintained. In 1723-4 the worship of eleven of the local gods was prohibited, but four such divinities were retained, and Brahmans were appointed to their service in place of the Maibas. Later we read, in 1735,—“The Raja Garib Nawaz punished all those Manipuris who neglected to follow Hinduism.”

At the present day the Manipuri is a very strict and orthodox Hindu of the Vaishnava sect, but at the same time a firm believer in the ancient gods of his forefathers. What the resultant religion will be, time only can show.

J. SHAKESPEAR.

ARMENIAN FOLK-TALES (*continued from p. 80*).6. *The Adventures of a Prince.*¹

There was or there wasn't a King, and this King had three sons. One day the King falls ill. All the physicians in the land and all the fortune-tellers are called, but they can find no remedy. Finally one of these who is very wise speaks and says,—“There is only one thing that will save the life of our King.” They ask him what it is. He replies,—“In the land of India there is a beautiful garden, and in it grows an apple-tree which is the Tree of Immortality. If some one will bring him some of those apples to eat, he will recover and become as one newly born.” They decide to go and tell the King this. But the King says, “I have heard that demons come and carry off those apples, and that no mortal is able to secure them.” Then the oldest son of the King rises and says,—“Long live the King! I will go and bring some.” He goes, and goes, and finally reaches that tree. The night that the apples are to ripen, the Prince falls asleep, and a demon comes, gathers the apples, and carries them away. The King's son returns very much chagrined.

The next year the second son goes after the apples. He also falls asleep, and returns empty-handed.

Then the youngest son says,—“Long live the King! I will go after them.” “Ho!” they exclaim, “What did your elder brothers do, that you should think to do anything!” But he begs and entreats until the King consents, and says,—“Go then!” So the youngest son takes his bow and arrow, and goes till he reaches the apple-tree. The night that the apples are to ripen, he takes his knife and slits his finger, and sprinkles salt in the cut. The smarting and the pain drive away his sleep.

He sees the demon come and start to climb the tree. He draws his bow and shoots the demon in the calf of his leg, and pierces it. The demon flees howling away. Then the Prince climbs the tree, gathers the apples, and takes them to his father. The King eats the fruit, and recovers.

After that the youngest son begs his father, saying,—“Grant

¹ This is the fourth story in *Manana*, but no title is given.

me permission to go and be revenged upon my enemies." His two brothers accompany him. From the foot of the tree they follow the track of the demon's blood drops, and go until they reach the mouth of a frightful cavern. They find that the demon has entered there.

First the eldest brother says,—“Let me down and I will fight with him.” When he is half way down, he cries,—“Mercy! I am burning up! Draw me up.” They draw him out.

The second brother is let down, and he also descends half way, when he cries,—“Mercy! I am burning up! Draw me out.” They draw him out.

It is the youngest brother's turn. He says, “Brothers, the more I cry “I am burning” lower me the further.” They let him down. The more he calls the further they lower him. He goes on down, down, down, and what does he see but a terrible demon lying with his head in the lap of a beautiful maiden. The maiden is embroidering, and there in front of her a golden mouse and a golden cat are playing about in a golden tub. The maiden notices the Prince, and says,—“Mortal, the serpent upon its belly and the fowl on its wings are not able to come here. How have you come?”

“Your love drew me,” the Prince replies.

“For your safety's sake,” the maiden begs, “escape from here, brave one. If the demon should wake, your ear will be the largest piece of you left!”

But the Prince replies,—“Make a noise and waken him. I have come to fight with him.”

The maiden says,—“He sleeps for forty days. It is eight days since he closed his eyes. It will be thirty-two days before he wakes. If you are impatient, heat that ploughshare, and strike his feet with it: then he will waken.”

The Prince heats the ploughshare, and strikes it against the demon's feet. The demon strikes his feet together, and, squinting his eyes, sits up and cries,—“Oh, the fleas are biting me!”

The maiden says,—“Rise and see what a black flea it is! A brave fellow has come, and is going to fight with you.”

The demon peers at the Prince, and exclaims,—“Oh, what a sweet morsel!”

The Prince replies,—“Arise, let us see whether God will give me or you to be eaten.” They take their bows and arrows to shoot at each other.

The demon says to the Prince,—“You shoot first,” but the Prince says, “No, you shoot first.” So the demon shoots, but the Prince stoops and the arrow passes over him. Then the Prince shoots his arrow and pierces the ribs of the demon, who falls to the earth, and half of the arrow sinks into the earth, nailing the demon’s body to the ground. Then the Prince cuts off the demon’s head, plucks off the ears, and thrusts them into his pocket.²

He leaves that one there and goes a little further, and what does he see but another demon sleeping with his horrid head resting in the lap of a beautiful maiden. The maiden is embroidering, and a golden mink and a golden cock are playing about in a golden sieve. The maiden notices the Prince, and she says,—“Mortal, the serpent upon its belly and the fowl on its wings are not able to come hither. How have you come?”

“Your love drew me,” the Prince replies.

The maiden says,—“For your safety’s sake, I beg you to escape before the demon wakes. If he should rise, your ear will be the largest bit of you left whole.”

But the Prince says,—“Speak to him. Let him waken. I have come to fight against him.”

Then the maiden says,—“If that is so, heat the iron cross-pieces and strike his feet with them, and the demon will waken.”

The Prince heats the iron cross-pieces, and strikes the demon’s feet with them. The demon claps his feet together, sits up, and cries,—“Oh, the fleas are biting me!”

The maiden says,—“What black fleas they are! Arise and see. This brave fellow has come to fight with you.”

The demon glares at the Prince, and then exclaims,—“Oh, a mutton-chop has walked in here on its own feet!”

The Prince replies,—“Arise, let us see whether God will give me or you, (whether it is to be you or I).” “Wallah,” cries the Prince, and he nails this one to the ground also. He cuts off his head, plucks off his ears, and thrusts them into his pocket.

²In all these stories the ears of the victims are preserved as trophies, as the American Indians preserved the scalp-locks of their victims.

Then he leaves him there and goes on. He sees a frightful demon resting his head in the lap of a most beauteous maiden who is as dazzling as the sun. The maiden is embroidering, and a golden hound and a golden black fox are playing about on a golden platter.

The maiden notices the Prince, and she says,—“Mortal, the serpent upon its belly and the fowl on its wings are not able to come hither. How have you come?”

The Prince replies,—“Your love drew me, beauteous maiden.”

“It is a pity for your youth. Flee from here. If the demon should wake, your ear would be the largest bit of you left whole,” she says.

The Prince replies,—“Speak to him. Let him waken. I have come to fight against him.”

Then the maiden says,—“If that is the case, heat that iron millstone pin, strike the feet of the demon with it, and he will waken.”

The Prince heats the iron pin, and strikes the demon's feet with it. The demon claps his feet together, and cries,—“Oh, the fleas are biting my foot!”

The maiden says,—“What a black flea it is! Arise and see! A brave fellow has come to fight with you.”

The demon rubs his eyes, and, peering at the Prince, exclaims,—“Oh, a featherless partridge! It has fallen into the trap of itself!”

The Prince replies,—“Arise, let us see whether God will give you or me.”

They fall to, and the Prince bastes this one to the ground also. He cuts his throat, stuffs his ears in his pocket, and goes back to the maiden. He brings all three to the same spot.

The maidens conduct the Prince to the treasure houses of the demons, and show him untold thousands of gold and silver pieces, jewels, weapons, and rich garments. Of all that there is he takes some of each and makes up three bundles just alike, (one for each of the maidens). But he retains for himself the magic sword,³

³The magic sword is the same as the “Zoulficar,” concerning which M. Macler gives a note in his volume *Contes Arméniens*, (pp. 181-2). According to Bishop Servantsdians, the Zoulficar was a sword made of iron extracted from stones of meteoric origin.

and the youngest maiden gives him a magic ring. They visit the stables, and there he sees three magnificent steeds in separate stalls; one black, one red, and one white. He pulls out a hair from each, and puts them into his cap (for safe keeping). Then they go to the mouth of the cavern, and call to his brothers. He fastens the two older maidens and their two bundles to the rope, and shouts,—“Draw these up, brothers. The older one of the maidens is for the eldest of you, and the other for my second brother. They bring their dowry with them.”

Then he sends up the youngest maiden’s dowry, but, when her turn comes, she says,—“Go you first.”

“No,” replied the Prince, “you shall go first.”

“But,” says the maiden, “when they see me they will not draw you out. You will remain in the cavern to perish.”

“What,” cried the Prince, “are they not my brothers?”

“You know best,” the maiden replies, “but, if you do remain, on Friday night three rams will come hither; one black, one red, and one white. You must leap upon the back of the black ram. He will leap upon the red one, and that upon the white one, which will leap with you into the Land of Light. Remember also that the ring which I gave you is a talisman. It will bring you whatever you ask or wish for. And if you cast the hair of any one of the steeds into the fire, that one will come to you. Now farewell.”

Then the brothers draw up the youngest maiden, and they are filled with amazement at her beauty and loveliness. “Behold, behold, behold!” they exclaim. “He keeps the most beautiful one for himself, and gives us the others!” Their hearts are filled with envy. So they leave their poor brother in the cavern, and depart with the treasure and the maidens.

On Friday night the three rams come, and the Prince in his haste throws himself upon the white ram. This leaps upon the red one, and that upon the black one. And the black one leaps with him into the Land of Darkness. There the Prince gropes about till he finds a door. He knocks, and an old woman comes to open it, and asks,—“Who is it?”

The Prince replies,—“I am a fatherless, motherless orphan, mother mine.”

The old woman opens the door, saying,—“And I have no child. Be thou my son, and I will be thy mother. Let us dwell together. God will give us bread.” So they become mother and son.

After a time the son says,—“Mother I am thirsty. A little water, I beg.”

The old woman replies,—“May my soul perish! there is no water.”

“Mother, what are you saying?”

“May I die for you!” she replies, “but there is only one fountain in our land, and a dragon stands on guard (to prevent us from reaching it). On the Lord’s Day a virgin is taken to the dragon, and while he devours her everyone hastens to obtain a supply of water. After he has eaten her the dragon returns to guard the fountain once more. To-day it will be the turn of the King’s daughter to be offered to the dragon. Listen! I hear them coming. They are taking the maiden to the dragon.”

The Prince looks, and finds it is indeed true. They have a maiden fair as the moon, and are carrying her along (by force). The Prince goes also. They leave the maiden beside the fountain, and everyone goes away.

The Prince, who has his magic sword with him, approaches the maiden, and says,—“Maiden, let me rest my head in your lap and sleep. Do not fear. Arouse me when the dragon comes, and I will save you.” Then he falls asleep.

Soon the dragon approaches the maiden, with his mouth open, lashing his tail and hissing frightfully. The maiden is speechless from fright. She bursts into tears and her hot tears fall upon the face of the Prince, and he awakes. He springs to his feet, and what does he see but the maiden already half down the dragon’s throat! Immediately he draws his magic sword, and, laying it across the maiden’s body, as the dragon continues to try to swallow the maiden his body is cleft in two, and the maiden steps out safe and sound. The dragon is no more.

Then the Prince says to the maiden,—“Arise, and go home.”

The maiden first dips her hand into the dragon’s blood, and lays the print of her hand upon the Prince’s back for a mark by

which she may recognize him. The maiden returns to her father's house, and the Prince to the house of the old woman. After this everyone is able to have plenty of water. The maiden tells her father how she was rescued by a brave youth.

One day the Prince inquires of the old woman why it is that this land is always dark.

"My son," she answers, "there is an eagle which has young ones every year, but a dragon devours them all, and the eagle because of its grief cuts off our light."

The Prince obtains permission of the old woman to visit the eagle's nest. He goes, and sees that truly an eagle has a nest upon a high rock. The Prince lies down beneath it. He sees the dragon come hissing towards the eaglets. The Prince dispatches it with his magic sword, and feeds bits of its flesh to the eaglets. They make a great outcry as they eat the flesh. The eagle hears her young ones, and hastens to them. She thinks that the Prince is injuring them, and she flies to attack him. But her young ones cry,—*"Spare. What are you doing? If it had not been for that man the dragon would have devoured us. He has killed the dragon."*

Then the eagle says to the Prince,—*"Tell me what kindness I can do you in return for this."*

"Oh, help me reach my Land of Light," the Prince replied.

"What you ask is very difficult," said the eagle, *"but, since you have saved my young ones, I will do as you wish. Go bring me forty skins⁴ of wine, and forty sheep-tails."⁵*

Now, that day when the daughter of the King had been delivered from the dragon the King had sent out criers saying,—*"Let him who rescued my daughter come forth, and I will give him my daughter's hand, and whatever else he shall choose to demand."*

Hundreds and thousands went and said,—*"I killed the dragon; I am he who rescued your daughter."* But the maiden said (of each),—*"No, this is not he."* There was no one left (to ask) in the city.

Then the King asks,—*"Is there no one else?"*

⁴Goatskin bottles are the common receptacles for wine.

⁵The large tails of the sheep common in Asia Minor are referred to here.

"Long live the King!" they answered. "There is left a certain stranger who lives with a poor old woman (outside the city)."

"Go fetch him!" commands the King.

They fetch him, and the maiden cries,—*"Behold, this is he!"* And she shows them the blood stain which she had imprinted upon his back.

"Make known your wishes," the King commands. "You deserve the maiden whom you rescued, and you shall have whatever else you wish to have."

The Prince replies,—*"Long live the King! God grant your daughter good fortune (kismet), and you the enjoyment of your riches! All I wish is that you furnish me with forty skins of wine and forty ram's tails, in order that the eagle may carry me to the Land of Light."*

Then the King grants the Prince his request, and he takes the things and carries them to the eagle.

The eagle says,—*"Load them upon my wings, and seat yourself upon my neck. When I say 'Poo!' give me wine, and when I say 'Goo' give me fat."*

First the Prince goes and kisses the hand of the old woman, and receives her blessing. Then the eagle takes him on her wings and flies upwards. When the eagle cries *"Poo,"* he gives her a wine-skin, and when she cries *"Goo,"* he gives her a ram's tail. She soars and soars until she reaches the Land of Light, and on till they reach the land of his father. Just then the eagle cries *"Goo."* In his excitement the Prince hurries, and drops the one remaining tail. But he thrusts his sword into the side of his leg, and cuts off a piece of that instead to give the eagle. The eagle knows from the taste that it is human flesh, and she holds it under her tongue. They reach the end of their journey. The eagle sets the Prince on the ground. *"Now let us see you walk,"* she says.

"No," replies the Prince. *"You may go, and then I will go on. My feet are numb."*

The eagle continues to urge the Prince, and finally he tries to rise, but he cannot walk. Then the eagle takes out the flesh which she has kept under her tongue, and fastens it in its place,

and glues it on with saliva. Then the Prince proceeds towards the city, and the eagle flies back to her young.

As the Prince is hastening along he meets a shepherd. He begs him to give him the lining of a sheep's stomach. This he draws over his head, and it turns him into a Katchlig (a bald-head). He enters the city, and there he learns that the King's sons are celebrating their wedding and that the King, his father, is going to wed his betrothed. His heart is smitten with fear, but what can he do? He enters the market, and, going to a goldsmith, asks,—“Won't you engage me as your apprentice?” The goldsmith looks at Katchlig, and, after pondering the question, consents, and says,—“Very well, come on, Katchlig.” The same day the King's servants bring a load of silver and gold to this goldsmith, and say,—“You are to make a golden cat and a golden mouse playing about in a golden tub.”

“I will make the creatures,” said the goldsmith, “but I cannot give them life and make them play about.”

“We don't know (how that may be),” say they; “but these are the King's orders. His betrothed wishes it so,” he says. “If you don't have them made (for me) I won't marry you,” she says.” Then they leave him and go away. The goldsmith is in the depths of despair. He doesn't know what to do. He cannot make them; yet if he does not he loses his head. Then Katchlig speaks up and says,—“Master, what are you brooding over? Why are you troubled?” His master tells him how it is. “Don't worry,” says Katchlig. “Go bring me two okes⁶ of filberts, and four okes of walnuts, and I will make them to-night.”

“Oh, you son-of-a-dog, Katchlig!” cries his master. “As though my trouble isn't enough for me, you must go and make fun of me!”

“No, Wallah! (I swear),” says Katchlig. “Go bring the walnuts and filberts, and in the morning come and find what you wish.”

Then the goldsmith does as Katchlig has asked. Can he sleep that night? Every time he comes to listen he hears Katchlig cracking nuts and eating. Just before dawn Katchlig produces his ring, and, making a sign to the fire, says,—“I ask you, and

⁶ An oke is 2.83 lbs.

you will ask God to have the golden mouse, and the golden cat in a golden tub, brought here." Immediately two Arab slaves place these before him and vanish. The master enters the room. His heart is beating with excitement. Katchlig points and says,—“Behold, I have made them, Master! Take them and go.”

The goldsmith is overjoyed. His feet do not touch the ground, as he hastens away with them. The King gives him rich rewards, and says,—“You must come to the wedding also.” The goldsmith returns in high spirits. Katchlig begs, saying,—“Master, Master, do take me with you to the wedding also.”

“Boy, you will fall under the feet of the horses, and have your head broken,” his master replies. “Stay where you are.”

So the next day the goldsmith goes to the wedding.

Then Katchlig drops a hair of the black steed into the fire, and the demon's black steed, with his black weapons and black garments, comes down from above, ready for his use. Katchlig changes his garments, girds on the arms, mounts the black charger, and becomes a Fairy Prince. He rides to the palace of the King. In the tournament he overcomes all the King's grandees, his sons and all, and, lastly, taking his master by the arm he overthrows him also, and then hastens back to his place, where he becomes Katchlig once more, and sits waiting there, looking very innocent. In the evening his master returns. Katchlig begs to hear all that has happened. “Bad luck to him! There was a devil of a black horseman, or perhaps an angel. He rode into the field, like lightning, or a thunderstorm. He overcame everyone. He threw me from my horse also, and vanished.”

Katchlig listened, shaking his head from side to side and clicking his tongue in astonishment. You would have thought he knew nothing about it.

Now we will leave these two while we turn to the maiden.

When she saw the golden mouse and the golden cat in the golden tub, she exclaimed,—“Wallah! My betrothed has come out into the Land of Light!”

So now she said to the King,—“Have a golden mink and a golden cock made for me, playing about in a golden sieve. If you don't have them made, I won't marry you.” The goldsmith is summoned, and he agrees to make them, having obtained the

consent of Katchlig. He brings him walnuts and filberts. Katchlig makes a sign to the fire. Two Arab slaves bring him a golden mink and a golden cock in a golden sieve, and set them down before him. In the morning the master takes them to the King. The King again invites the goldsmith to the wedding. Again Katchlig begs leave to go, and his master refuses. Then Katchlig drops the hair from the red steed into the fire, and the red steed, the red weapons, and red garments stand ready before him. Katchlig changes his garments, girds on the weapons, mounts the steed, and rides to the tournament, overcomes everyone, comes and hits his master a blow with the fist again, throws him from his horse, goes back to his place, changes his garments, and sits waiting, motionless and silent as before. At evening the master comes and tells his story, and Katchlig is duly astonished.

Well, now, the maiden is sure that her betrothed is near, for no one but he could produce the objects she had required. So the next day she says to the King,—“I wish you to have made for me a golden fox and a golden hound running about on a golden platter. If you don't have them made, I won't marry you.” The King's servants arise and go to the goldsmith with the order. Katchlig gives his master a wink, and the latter promises to make them. Then he brings walnuts and filberts to Katchlig. Katchlig feasts on them all night long. At dawn he produces the ring, and makes a sign to the fire. This time the two Arab slaves bring him a golden fox and a golden hound upon a golden platter. The master takes them to the King. That day, also, they have a wedding feast. Katchlig throws the hair of the white charger into the fire, and the third demon's white steed, white weapons, and white garments appear and stand in readiness before him. Katchlig puts on the garments, girds on the weapons, takes the magic sword in his hand, mounts upon the back of the white steed, mingles with the wedding guests, fights with the lords, goes up and down, smites the King, kills his brothers also, takes his betrothed, weds her, and mounts the throne. He attains his heart's desire.

May you attain unto your hearts' desire.

J. S. WINGATE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

FOLK-LORE SOCIETY'S PLACE OF MEETING.

Members will please note that the evening meetings of the Society will in future be held in the MOCATTA LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, GOWER STREET, W.C., instead of 22 Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W., as heretofore.

F. A. MILNE, *Secretary*.

"TOTEMISM AND EXOGAMY."

(*Ante*, pp. 81-104).

I have already expressed (*Man*, 1911) my admiration for Prof. Frazer's *Totemism and Exogamy*, though not without raising certain critical difficulties on portions of his argument. It seems superfluous, therefore, to say that I am in whole-hearted agreement with every word of praise and gratitude with which Dr. Westermarck prefaces his criticisms in the March number of *Folk-Lore*. On the other hand it is undeniable that the criticisms made by Dr. Westermarck demand consideration. In what follows, therefore, I address myself not so much to Dr. Frazer's work as to some of Dr. Westermarck's objections.

He takes issue on the "statement that the totemic tie is sometimes deemed more binding than that of blood. When the totemic group," he asks, "is identical with a social unit based on a common descent, either through the father or through the mother, how can we decide whether the strength of the tie which

unites its members is due to the common totem or to the common descent?" Put in that way, indeed, the question is difficult to answer. But why has he not quoted Dr. Frazer's *ipsissima verba*? What Dr. Frazer says (i. 53) is:—"The totem bond is stronger than the bond of blood or *family in the modern sense*." Surely this is incontestable. He goes on:—"This is expressly stated of the clans of Western Australia and of North-Western America, and is probably true of all societies where totemism exists in full force." Dr. Westermarck has evidently not referred to the authorities cited in support of the statement; instead he flies off to the Arunta. Now (*pace* Dr. Frazer) totemism among the Arunta is not in full force, but manifestly in decay; and one of the symptoms of its decay is the relaxation or annihilation of the old bond of blood. Dr. Westermarck's reply on this point may accordingly have some force against Dr. Frazer, but is of no validity against those who refuse to believe in the primitive character of Arunta institutions. At all events, the evidence concerning the peoples referred to by Dr. Frazer is conclusive. I have elsewhere (*Primitive Paternity*, i. 280) cited some very striking examples not mentioned by him in this connection. As the book is in the hands of all members of the Folk-Lore Society I need not here repeat them.

Again, for Dr. Westermarck, Dr. Frazer's criticism of other writers' theories is not always convincing. He cites two examples. The first is that of "the American theory, according to which the totems of clans are merely the guardian spirits of ancestors transmitted by inheritance to their descendants." Dr. Frazer had argued that "it encounters a serious difficulty in the comparative insignificance of the guardian spirits of women, which is hard to reconcile with descent of the clan-totem in the female line." Upon which Dr. Westermarck asks,—“Why could not a person inherit the guardian spirit of his maternal uncle, as he in many cases inherits his property?” How is this relevant to Dr. Frazer's criticism? It does not touch the comparative insignificance of the guardian spirits of women; and it ignores the equal application of true totemism to women and to men.

The other example is that of Dr. Frazer's objection to the late Prof. Wilken's theory that totemism originated in the doctrine

of metempsychosis. In support of Wilken, Dr. Westermarck alleges the Bantu, whose belief Dr. Frazer regards as a late development rather than as the source of totemism. Waiving the question whether totemism had everywhere the same origin, (which perhaps may still be open to argument), it is very unsafe to base the theory of the origin of totemism in metempsychosis on the belief of the Bantu. Among the Bantu, totemism is in decay. This is shown not merely by the fact that south of the great lakes and east of the Congo basin they have generally passed into the stage of Father-Right, but also by the general tendency among those tribes to drop their proper totems and adopt in their place the totem of the political head of the tribe for the time being. The Basuto are a striking instance, and there are others. Moreover, in the Congo basin, where Mother-Right for the most part prevails, totemism is to be discovered only in faint and uncertain traces, while among the northern tribes it is by no means in full force. Lastly, the metempsychosis, where it exists, is not to be definitely connected with totemism: the dead man does not as a rule re-appear in the form of his totem-animal, but rather as a snake, or (if a chief) a lion or some other formidable beast.

So much for totemism. When we come to exogamy Dr. Westermarck does more than formulate objections: he has his own definite theory to support, that the aversion to sexual unions of near kin, "through an association of ideas, led to the prohibitions of marriage between members of the same clan on account of the notion of intimacy connected with a common descent and a common name." First, it seems, an innate aversion to sexual intercourse arose between persons living very closely together from early childhood. Then, by the law of association of ideas, it was extended to all who bore the same name and were presumed to have common descent. The only proofs offered are (1) the Roman Catholic prohibition of marriage between co-sponsors, (2) the rule prevalent among the Slavic populations of Eastern Europe "according to which the groomsmen at a wedding is forbidden to intermarry with the family of the bride," (3) the laws prohibiting marriage between relatives by alliance, and (4) the Chinese Penal Code, which punishes any one who marries a person bearing his own surname. The Roman Catholic prohibition originated in a

high civilization, and affords no criterion of what may take place in a very low one. Moreover, by the subtleties of churchmen, the ceremony is held to create a real, though spiritual, relationship between the sponsors themselves, and between them and the child for whom they stand as sponsors. By the Slav "groomsman" Dr. Westermarck means the *Brautführer* or *Djeveri*, who is usually either a brother of one or other of the parties (and so a member of the family by blood), or is the godfather. Where this is not so, the mere relationship of *Brautführer* is not invariably held to be a bar to marriage. The Chinese law referred to proceeds on the assumption that every one bearing the same patronymic is in fact related by blood; the possession of the name is held irrefutable evidence of kinship. It is a case of the survival of exogamic clans into a high stage of civilization. There only remains the prohibition of marriage between relatives by alliance. The rules as to this are very various; and it seems probable that, so far as they are found in the lowest culture, they are based upon an actual relationship held to be contracted by the marriage. However this may be, none of these cases of prohibition carry Dr. Westermarck very far. The most that any of them can do is to prove that the region of relationships is not exempted from the operation of the universal law of the association of ideas. Indeed he claims no more for it. But it is hardly necessary to point out that this is a long way from proving his hypothesis, or even introducing a presumption in its favour: it leaves it a pure speculation still. The hypothesis, however, that the very general (but not universal) horror of incest is founded on the aversion to sexual relations between persons intimately associated from childhood is plausible, and not to be dismissed without examination. It seems worth while to take the opportunity to summarize a few of the objections to it. Since the direct knowledge of primitive human society is denied to us, we must judge of it and of the feelings that actuated its members from what we find to-day in low grades of civilization. There the customs are very different in different tribes. They all agree in very little more than that sexual relations are prohibited between *some* persons. These persons are by no means always persons who have been brought up in contiguity from childhood. Among the Bantu sexual intercourse takes place from quite early

years among the children who play about together. Among the Chukchi, children are often reared together with a view to marriage, and such marriages are considered to be the strongest. The Yakut do the same, and, where a sister goes away on marriage, her brothers never allow her to depart a virgin. These are samples only, the first that occur to me. The noisome list might easily run to a great length.

In the last case the sanctity of near kinship is disregarded. Nor is it solitary. The samples given by Dr. Westermarck himself in his *History of Human Marriage* show that opinion on the subject of incest varies with the race and people, and does not conform to any one standard. On the other hand, so far from nearness in blood being an obstacle to sexual union in very remote times, the difficulty of accounting for the existence of so many and such strongly marked varieties of mankind is enormously great, unless we are prepared to admit a very considerable amount of inbreeding, lasting for generations, and resulting in each case in fixing a durable type. It is true that modern savages usually account for their exogamy and prohibited degrees by reference to "the same blood." Their idea of blood-relationship differs from ours. It tends, however, on the whole, to approximate to ours; and the recognition of kinship through both parents slowly growing up has produced a table of prohibited degrees to supplement clan-exogamy and, in Australia and elsewhere, the marriage classes. But whether the objection to marriage with "the same blood" originated clan-exogamy is another question.

That it resulted from a natural instinct of aversion to sexual contact with those with whom the candidates for matrimony had been accustomed to quite different relations, I know of no real evidence to warrant us in believing. Where the requirement to resort to another camp, or another village, for a mate exists at the present day, there will often,—I think I may say, generally,—be found underlying it a presumption that the population of the same camp or village is all related by blood. Among the Australian tribes who practise local exogamy it is "chiefly where the clan-system has been weakened, or has become almost extinct, that the local organization has assumed such overwhelming predominance." So Dr. Westermarck reports Howitt's summing up

of his investigations on the subject; and those who have given attention to Australian sociology will agree that it correctly represents the facts.

On one important matter we are entirely ignorant,—the liberty of choice permitted to either sex in the days when the law of exogamy was in process of evolution. Certain it is that a large number of peoples at the present day allow little choice to the woman. Infant betrothals are a late development. But besides this, both in the eastern and western hemispheres, there are plenty of tribes who pay little or no regard to the wishes of either of the parties chiefly concerned. And usually both parties submit without difficulty. The fact probably is that, though there are from time to time individual preferences, what we call love does not enter into the question. Marriage is much more the satisfaction of an animal instinct, or of a social need largely independent of the will of the parties. If any contrary preference be manifested, social pressure, or that of the *potestas*, is brought effectively to bear on the recalcitrant person; the union once formed settles down into use and wont, or it is broken at the bidding of caprice, or when it is found for some other reason intolerable, or merely inconvenient, by either party. It may have been thus in early times, or it may not. Even promiscuity is not altogether inconsistent with a measure of compulsion. All I want to point out is that it is unsafe to argue from the assumption that *connubium* in early days was the free choice by either sex of a life-partner under emotional conditions at all similar to those we associate with love and marriage.

For these reasons, here only roughly and rapidly stated, and others, I cannot see my way to accept Dr. Westermarck's theory. Both his theory and Mr. Lang's are based on their common rejection of the hypothesis of primitive promiscuity,—an hypothesis which, in spite of the incisive criticisms which have been addressed to it, especially by Dr. Westermarck, seems to me by no means untenable. It is impossible here to discuss this question at length. But two observations may be made. The first is that unwarrantable stress has been laid upon jealousy. I have collected a large number of examples drawn from every quarter of the globe which prove that in the lower culture jealousy is a

passion very imperfectly developed. They raise the presumption that it is largely dependent on the sense of ownership developed under the influence of matrimonial regulations, all later than the hypothetical primitive condition. The other observation is that the hypothesis of primitive monogamy proceeds on the assumption that man evolved from a solitary anthropoid ape,—an ape, that is, dwelling apart in a kind of family consisting of parents and infant offspring. Now, with the most profound respect for the great name of Darwin, which has been associated with it, this postulate is one that cannot be granted. The weight of argument appears to lie on the side of those who contend that man was from the first gregarious, and that the solitary habits of the gorilla and others of the higher apes have had not a little to do with the arrest of their evolution, and with their gradual failure in the struggle for existence. Leaving this problem, however, to biologists, it is enough now to note that the hypotheses of primitive monogamy, primitive jealousy, and primitive innate aversion hang together. In what follows I venture to postulate the contrary hypothesis of primitive promiscuity.

Starting from this hypothesis, what is the origin of exogamy? On the threshold of the enquiry I confess myself at a disadvantage. It is one thing to attempt to criticize the theories of others; it is quite another thing to advance an alternative theory. I share Dr. Frazer's inability to commit myself to any definite opinion in the present state of our knowledge. Suspense of judgement is often wise in the discussion of scientific questions: nay, it is often absolutely necessary. But, lest I should seem to shirk the question, let me state for the sake of discussion one suggestion that has occurred to me in the course of investigation into savage social conditions. In doing so I do not wish to ignore the possibility that exogamy may have had more than one origin. It may have arisen independently in distant regions, and the pressure of environment may have operated quite differently in every case, though a similar result may have been produced.

The suggestion is that the exogamic clan originated in a first effort at the organization of human society. It must have been preceded by a dimly-growing consciousness of blood-relationship, probably extending only to the relation of mother and child, and

by a tendency to more or less permanent mating. Once the reasoning powers of early mankind had evolved to a certain point, the advantage of organization may have forced itself upon attention; and a tendency to permanent mating would have accelerated, if it were not one of the prime factors in forcing, the consideration of the subject. Directly the momentary impulses of promiscuity began to yield to the desire for more or less durable possession,—that is to say, directly the rude beginnings of marriage made their appearance,—regulation became a necessity, if only to prevent unceasing strife and the breaking up of the inchoate community. The division of a horde into two exogamic moieties may have presented itself as the most obvious course. Each of these moieties may have comprised one portion of the mothers of the horde with their children. If each moiety had been made endogamous the result would have been not organization, but separation. The horde would have split, as doubtless it had done many times already. This would not have been regulation; it would not have been advance. Society would have been exactly where it was before. But by providing that each moiety should mate with the other, the two moieties would have been kept together; the horde would have taken the first step in organization, a step destined ultimately to bind its members together into a tribe with a consciousness of unity which even the possession of a common tongue had not given it. Of course experience would gradually show that by itself this division was not enough to effect all the objects desirable. It would, for example, effect the prohibition of unions between mother and son and between brother and sister, but not between father and daughter. It was a first step only; as the consciousness of kinship developed, it would bring further changes sooner or later in its train.

Such voluntary fission is as a fact not very uncommon in a low stage of savagery. Though my attention has only been directed to it within the last few months, and though I have made no special research on the subject, I have by accident come across a number of examples. With the arguments of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in favour of the voluntary origin of changes in the organization and ceremonies of the tribes of Central Australia we are all familiar. Those arguments have recently been elaborated in their

application to the exogamic classes or phratries by Dr. Frazer with what I venture to think is unanswerable force. But that which is true of the exogamic classes may be true also of the totemic clans. They may owe their genesis to a similar but earlier movement. The new groups thus created would generally have attracted to themselves names, whether assumed from within or imposed from without. Such names would as a rule have been obtained from familiar objects,—animals or plants. Once a name was identified with a group, it would form a powerful aid to permanence. It would consolidate it; it would present it as a tangible entity, not a mere concept. It would become a centre for superstitions,—some perhaps already developed, and others still vague and only half-defined. Where this was the case, these superstitions would coalesce about the new social unit, their evolution would be assisted, and their objects would become defined, belief and practice growing together and forming ultimately the complex organization we call totemism. Exogamy may thus be more vitally related, among some peoples at all events, to totemism than Dr. Frazer's researches appear to show.

Elsewhere than in Australia we find voluntary fission expressly initiated in order to provide mates for members of exogamous clans. In a certain district of Sumatra, where the population is organized in exogamous clans on the basis of matrilineal descent, when a clan has grown too big, as sometimes happens, and the prohibition of marriage within it has therefore become inconvenient, it is divided into two or more smaller exogamous clans, and thus the difficulty of want of spouses for its members is overcome.¹ In East Africa, Mr. Ernest Haddon records a native tradition of the separation of the Nyori clan from the rest of the Bari in consequence of a dispute. It left the others, and journeying to the east entered the Nile valley. The Bari clans were exogamous; but, as the other clans were now far distant, exogamous marriages were impossible to the Nyori. So the elders decided that the Nyori clan must itself be broken up into exogamous clans. This was done accordingly.² The result was what was

Globe, vol. xcvi., p. 263.

² *Journal of the African Society*, vol. x., p. 468.

aimed at,—to regularize marriages hitherto regarded with the horror of incest. Whether this tradition records facts I do not know. If not, at least it shows what the Nyori contemplate as possible and regular proceedings in case of need. An examination of the social organization of the Masai reveals the various clans undergoing even now the process of fission. They are divided into two groups for which Mr. Hobley, the latest writer on the people, suspects a totemic origin; and they are subdivided into smaller groups which both Mr. Hobley and Mr. Hollis designate families, though they do not exactly agree in the numeration of either the clans or the families. Certain of these subdivisions intermarry with one another; in other cases intermarriage is not permitted, but the members marry outside the clan. These variations can only be accounted for by supposing that the subdivisions are in process of evolution into the status of clans. If they had been left to themselves, probably they would have attained it in due course; but the white man has come, and no one can say what the issue will be.³

Among the Garos of Assam, also, the severance is proceeding. They are divided into three *katchis* or exogamous septs or clans, named Momin, Marak, and Sangma. "Some Garos declare that at one time they were all Momins, and that the other exogamous groups were formed by persons who left the parent colony and settled by themselves in distant places. The process of adding to the number of these clans is even now in progress, and Ebang, Areng, and Sira are named by some as independent exogamous groups." Though they do not appear quite to have attained this position as yet, Major Playfair entertains "no doubt that these last-named *katchis* will entirely sever themselves from the parent clans, and that their members will intermarry with the old stock as if it were one of the septs with which marriage is lawful."⁴

The Mekeo tribes of British New Guinea are in a similar position. They consist of a number of exogamous clans, called *pangua*, having at the present time patrilineal descent, but with traces of Mother-Right. "There is," says Dr. Seligmann, "and

³ Hobley, *Ethnology of A-Kamba and other East African Tribes*, p. 121.

⁴ Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 64.

apparently always has been, a centrifugal tendency which, with the absence of a central authority, has permitted the formation of a large number of *pangua* by fission from the parent stock." He describes the process. Its final step is a big feast at the expense of the ambitious group, to which all the chiefs of the district come, and there the status desired is granted, "the leader of the new unit is declared a chief, and the new section, while retaining the old name, is declared free and independent." In other words, it attains the dignity of an exogamous *pangua*.⁵

We cannot indeed say that in all these cases the object of fission is to provide a greater choice of mates; but, seeing that that is at least one of the effects, it may reasonably be one of the objects. Whether this were so or no, the change is voluntary, and it is a step in the organization of the entire tribe. To us, however, the difficulty lies in attributing to a mere step in organization the genesis of the common horror,—the horror which we experience in a high degree,—of incest. This seems to be caused by omitting to place ourselves at the savage point of view and thence tracing the course of evolution. The horror of incest is, as I have pointed out, by no means universal. The evils of inbreeding are not likely to have been within the purview of our remote ancestors. Even yet they are not finally admitted by modern science: or, if admitted, they are admitted only with qualifications, and in the somewhat vague form that indefinite inbreeding, without rigid selection, natural or artificial, results in deterioration. Nor does exogamy in its simpler forms altogether avoid inbreeding. But, when the first hypothetical step was taken in the formation of exogamic clans, kinship,—the possession of a common blood,—was only recognized on one side, probably that of the mother, and only between the mother and her offspring. The segregation of a number, larger or smaller, of mothers and offspring would naturally lead to the recognition of a common blood between the offspring themselves. The consciousness of brotherhood and sisterhood would be awakened. The whole clan would share in common rites, which would accentuate the feeling of fraternity. The feeling of fraternity once quickened would grow. Within the original clan groups would be formed, the

⁵ Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 367, 337, 16.

members of which would seem closer to one another than the rest, more bound up together in interest and ultimately in blood; and these would be the germs of further fission, of new clans. Among savages there is no sharp line of distinction between sacred and secular. Their beliefs and practices, whether we call them magical or religious, are inseparable from their institutions and their ordinary life. Directly the members of a clan are forbidden to intermarry, that taboo would associate itself in their minds with other taboos, and would attach to itself sanctions of a mysterious nature, such as enforce the observance of other taboos. In short, it would become part of their religion. Changed to a greater or less extent in its objects, it has remained part of the religion of their descendants, and as such we have inherited it. By our education and traditions it has become interwoven in the very texture of our minds. I do not deny that the attraction of new charms, where choice was permitted, may have emphasized the repulsion thus created. The desire for something new is natural, not only in making choice of a mate, but in all human affairs. And where the choice is that of a permanent mate, where the ideal of marriage has been elevated, and love in something like our sense of the word has been evolved, the attraction of new charms may have powerfully reinforced the old taboo. What I do dispute is that it was the foundation of the taboo.

But it may be said, (I am not sure whether Mr. Andrew Lang has not said it, or something like it), that it is easier to introduce reforms in an existing marriage law than to enact a law altogether new. Granted that such changes as I have shown do occur, that is a different thing from making a marriage law where none previously existed, from evolving a cosmos out of chaos. No doubt. Yet, if purposeful alterations are admittedly made in the marriage regulations, there is a strong presumption that the regulations were originally made knowingly, voluntarily, and for a purpose. In one respect they would have been more easily made. The institution of exogamy, in the first instance, would impose restrictions on passing impulses. But, if there were then already a tendency to the formation of more durable unions, both sexes would have been to a great extent suited with mates. This condition of things would operate to enfeeble resistance to restrictions

tending, in their turn, to strengthen the unions previously formed. So far as we know, there could be no opposition arising from motives we may class as religious. But the case would be altered when it came to interfering with a social order around which sacred associations had gathered, and abandoning a taboo to which was attached a sanction not merely human but supernatural. Against a change of that kind a clamour would be aroused of which we may faintly judge by the fierce opposition offered in this country at the present day to marriage with a deceased wife's sister, and to the remarriage of divorced persons. Supernatural terrors have at least as strong a hold on the savage as on the writers and readers of the *Church Times*; and it would require all the common sense of the community to insist on the reform. But with every such change the opposition would be weakened. As we see from the cases of the Masai and the Garos, the way for change would often be prepared by a long period of social evolution. Among other peoples, like the Mekeo, it would come to be regarded as a normal development, in which the fuller liberty of *connubium* was only one of the incidents.

Finally, be it observed that this suggestion does not assume the universality of totemism. Twenty years ago anthropologists were inclined to presume totemism as a necessary stage in the evolution of human culture. To-day the pendulum has swung in an opposite direction. Perhaps it has swung too far. In any event exogamic clans are now as a fact found without totemism. Whether they ever were totemic is a question we may leave for the present purpose undecided. The validity of the suggestion here propounded will not depend upon the answer. Incidentally, it is true, it provides an explanation of their totemism where they are totemic; but it neither asserts nor presupposes that they are all totemic.

Such is the alternative I venture with some diffidence to submit. I do not put it forward in any but the most tentative spirit, or dignify it by the name of hypothesis. It may have been anticipated in whole or in part by others. This is inevitable where discussions on a subject have been proceeding for years. But I think it requires more detailed consideration than to my knowledge it has yet received.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

REVIEWS.

LES CENT ET UNE NUITS. Traduites de l'Arabe. PAR M. GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES. Paris: E. Guilmoto, 1911. 8vo, pp. xv + 352.

OUR first reference to the *Thousand and One Nights* by name dates back to the work of Masoudi in the tenth century, where it is said to be based on a Persian work. But existing manuscripts, as such, are not earlier than the fifteenth century, and are probably very different from the work referred to by Masoudi. The *Hundred and One Nights*, which is the work we have now to consider, is a smaller work on very similar lines, here translated from the collation of four Maugrebin (Moroccan) manuscripts. Although they are modern, they probably come nearer to the original form of the *Thousand and One Nights* as known to Masoudi than does the great Modern Egyptian recension.

Nineteen tales are included in the *Hundred and One Nights*, of which, (apart from numerous casual resemblances in the others), five, including the Introduction, are practically the same as well-known tales of the *Thousand and One Nights*, the other four being *Histoire du jeune marchand du Caire et de Merveille de Beauté* (Neamah and Noam); *Histoire du roi, des sept visirs, de la favorite du fils du roi, et du sage Sindabad* (The King and his Son and the Seven Vizirs); *Histoire du cheval d'ébène* (The Magic Horse); and *Histoire de la ville de Cuivre et des flacons de Salomon* (The City of Brass). The remainder are mostly short tales, several relating to adventures in strange regions, or to feats of Arab chivalry,—or its opposite, for the moral standard is not usually very high; a princess dressed as a champion, and vanquished by a prince, at once murders her father, to marry the prince and raise him to the

throne; and another prince, saved from death by the charity of the shepherd of an afrit who has carried off his betrothed, at once follows her advice by murdering the shepherd as a preliminary to an attack on the afrit. On the other hand, we find the sage Sindabad instructing his pupil not to do to others what he would not have done to himself.

The editor has paid much attention to Indian parallels, and has brought out the Indian origin of many of the tales very strongly. But he has forgotten to note that the origin of some of the variants of the story of the Changed Sex may be traced back to the story of Sikhandin (the Cæneus of India) and the Yaksha, in the *Mahabharata*. The version of the Ebony Horse in the *Hundred and One Nights* does not mention its movements, (as do some of the other variants), which strongly suggest the inflation of a balloon. I imagine that the Greek and Indian flying chariots, etc., are more likely to be traditions of aerial machines used in former civilised ages than reflections from dream-life,—as Havelock Ellis has lately suggested,—and that dragons and other monsters are traditions of extinct animals rather than the externalisation of dream-fancies. Perhaps we are always too much inclined to suppose that, because an explanation of one series of facts seems probable, it will explain all, overlooking the fact that similar phenomena may frequently be due to a variety of causes.

The European parallels of the *Hundred and One Nights* are interesting. Some of the incidents in the *Histoire du roi et du dragon* much resemble those in the story of the Water of Life, and in the *Histoire d'Étoile de Lumière* it is amusing to find an afrit saying,—“*Je sens l'odeur d'un être humain.*”

The notes and variants on the story of the City of Brass (*La ville de Cuivre*) are specially interesting. The afrit in the pillar has eyes “*fendus en long.*” This character is found in the story of Tokhfat El Kuloob, and in some tales from the Gotha Library, but I do not remember it in the Egyptian recension of the *Thousand and One Nights* proper. It suggests the oblique eyes of the Mongolian races, and it is very common to find alien races confused with demons in folk-traditions. The demons of Croyland are said to have spoken Welsh, and the language of the Esthonian water-demons is said “to have sounded like Lettish”! The

Teutonic word Welsh means foreign in England, and in German Italian or gibberish.

The afrit, too, says that he is fed "by the heat of the sun," or, as a variant has it, "for food and drink I have only the simoom and the flame, as the angels for food and drink have the praise and exaltation of Allah." It will be remembered that the jinn are created "from the smokeless fire of the fierce Simoom," as Kenealy puts it. When Abd Es-Samad mounted the ladder to gaze into the City of Brass, he had a cord tied round him which hindered him from throwing himself down to the sirens in the enchanted city, like the soldiers who had mounted the wall before him. On p. 343 we find an extract from Makrizi which reminds us of the Loreley, with a difference.

The volume is both very interesting and very carefully edited and annotated, and we have to regret only that the author has not drawn up a short bibliography of the various works to which he has referred in the course of his commentaries.

W. F. KIRBY.

THE DECAMERON. Its Sources and Analogues. By A. C. LEE. Nutt, 1909. 8vo, pp. xvi + 363.

THE *Decameron* is perhaps the most famous collection of stories of the middle ages in the West, as is the *Thousand and One Nights in the East*, though it is far less extensive, and is almost confined to tales of intrigues and love adventures. Many of the tales are very ancient, and may be found in India, Greece, Egypt, or elsewhere, while in their turn they have served as a useful storehouse for English and other authors from the time of Chaucer (who was only a little later than Boccaccio) to La Fontaine and Tennyson,—to mention only three of the best known names of those who have drawn on the *Decameron*.

Mr. Lee tells us "an attempt has been made in the following pages to give a concise, but as far as possible complete, account of the sources of the tales in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, with notices of the various parallels and analogues." In these few words the

author has explained his scheme, which he appears to have carried out excellently, and with as great completeness as could be expected in a work of the kind. The work will be indispensable to all folklorists and students of literature connected with the *Decameron*. At the commencement of the volume we have a "List of Principal Works referred to," running to 8 pages, and at the end a short but comprehensive index of 12 clearly-printed columns. A detailed notice of a book of this character is impracticable, and we must content ourselves with pointing out its salient features.

W. F. KIRBY.

DIE STELLUNG DER PYGMÄENVÖLKER IN DER ENTWICKLUNGSGESCHICHTE DES MENSCHEN. Von P. W. SCHMIDT, S.V.D. (Studien und Forschungen zur Menschen und Völkerkunde unter wissenschaftlicher Leitung von Georg Buschen). Stuttgart: Verlag von Strecker und Schröder, 1910. 4to, pp. ix + 315.

WERE Adam and Eve pygmies?

The Pygmies, Father Schmidt argues, are "the oldest group of men, ethnologically, that are accessible to us now." He is inclined to surmise that they date back to a period earlier even than Neanderthal man, and that they "represent the earliest stage in the evolution of man." There are indications, he thinks, that "the original home of the Pygmies is to be looked for, not in Central Africa, but further east, nearer the present abode of the Asiatic Pygmies"; and that, I suppose, would bring it nearer the Garden of Eden. However, though fallen somewhat from the high estate which Father Schmidt conjectures that they enjoyed in their original abode, they still clearly recognise and worship a Supreme Being, and "we are justified in saying that these people have a genuine monotheism, the perfect purity of which is flecked by a few anthropomorphisms only." "In the oldest group of the Andamanese we have before us the recognition and worship of a genuinely Supreme Being, and a religion which in internal

loftiness and purity notably surpasses the religion of later *Naturvölker*."

In examining Father Schmidt's theory, we obviously must ask ourselves two questions: first, what are the religious views of the pygmies in the twentieth century, A.D.; and, next, what can we infer from them as to the views held by pygmy man in the Quaternary period. As regards the first question, Father Schmidt begins his discussion of pygmy religion at the present day by stating that amongst the pygmies religious acts as such are difficult to distinguish; religion is not yet differentiated from the rest of life, as a special department; fixed external forms and formulae have scarcely yet been evolved. Substantially, Father Schmidt seems to me to have done nothing to invalidate the conclusion reached by Portman and by Man that amongst the Andamanese there were no religious forms and rites, no prayers, and no offerings. In the absence of such external forms, then, where are we to look for religion? First, there is the recognition of a High God, Puluga; next, there is the story that the first man was made by Puluga; then, the belief that, if yams or edible fruits are eaten during the first half of the rainy season, there will again be a flood, a *Sintflut*, and that the sin of the first man consisted precisely in not offering firstfruits. Here, obviously, we are approaching, or entering, the domain of mythology; and, consequently, we are bound to bear in mind the fact that folk-tales and myths are borrowed and handed on by one people to another all the world over. We have to face the possibility that the narratives current amongst the pygmies may have been picked up by them at some time and at some point in the wanderings by which they reached the various parts of the world's surface in which they are now found. Then is the possibility a probability? What degree of probability has the borrowing theory in this particular case? If the contact between the pygmies and other peoples has been, as far as we can see, of the slightest, then the probability is slender to the same degree; and, whatever the degree of probability, there is the possibility that, if there has been any borrowing, the pygmies may have been the lenders and may not have been the borrowers. But, though it is thus *a priori* possible that the pygmies may have been lenders and not borrowers, it is

certain as a matter of fact that they have been borrowers in one particular respect, and that a most important respect when we are considering the possibility that they may have borrowed ideas, conceptions, tales, and myths. "It is a very remarkable fact," Father Schmidt says, "that most pygmy tribes seem to have no language of their own, but to speak the language of their bigger neighbours. That is the case with the Philippine Negritos, the Semang, and all the Central African pygmy tribes as yet known to us. It is, however, further to be noted that the language often is not that spoken at the present time by their bigger neighbours, but an older form." Thus, as most pygmy tribes have borrowed the language of their neighbours, we have to face the possibility that they may have borrowed in some cases not only the words but the ideas conveyed by the words. When, then, we find that in East Africa and in West Africa the names current amongst the pygmies for a Supreme Being, *Waka* and *Nzambi*, have been borrowed from the language of their bigger neighbours, there is the possibility that not only the name, but the idea also, has been borrowed by the pygmies; and though, of course, difference of language does not prevent folk-tales and myths from being borrowed, as all students of folklore know, still such borrowing would be yet easier, when the intercourse between two tribes was so close that the words and ideas of the one tribe were imposed upon the other.

It seems hazardous then to suppose that the religion of the pygmies in the twentieth century A.D. affords us much light on the religious views of pygmy man in the Quaternary period. Some, if not all, of the pygmies have learnt a new language since that period; and they may possibly have learnt therewith some new ideas.

F. B. JEVONS.

LES CHRÉTIENNES CELTIQUES. Par Dom LOUIS GOUGAUD.
Paris: Bibl. de l'enseignement de l'hist. ecclés., 1911.
8vo, pp. xxxvi + 410.

DOM LOUIS GOUGAUD's *Chrétientés Celtiques* is a work which bears testimony to the great amount of fresh material that has

accumulated during the past few years on the subject of early Christian origins and development in Ireland. A number of texts recently edited, such as penitentials, monastic rules, lives of saints, religious hymns, and fragments of liturgies, tend to render more exact and clear our knowledge of the social and ecclesiastical life of Ireland and of the sister Celtic countries from the eighth to the ninth centuries. Dom Gougand has taken full advantage of this new material, and his book is likely to become the standard work of reference on these subjects. His exhaustive and well-arranged *Table de matières* will be useful to students in all departments of Celtic literature and history. His work includes a brief but useful chapter on the social conditions and pagan beliefs of the Celtic peoples; studies on the origin and spread of Christianity in Ireland and in Armorica, and of the Irish missions on the Continent; and a discussion of the special characteristics of the Celtic church, its questions of discipline and of worship, its institution, and its art and culture. The material is handled in the true historical spirit which seeks to realise and reconstruct actual conditions rather than to draw from them arguments in support of preconceived views. In his own concluding words, "notre dessein, à nous, a été modeste : rassembler les meilleurs des matériaux exhumés, les agencer avec le plus de vraisemblance possible, enfin les classer méthodiquement, ainsi que l'on range dans les armoires des musées les débris des sociétés éteintes : *ossa vides rerum vacuis exsucta medullis*." It is this orderliness and clearness of method, and this historical detachment of view, that give its value to the book. The folklorist will find matter of interest in the Christian as well as the pagan sections of the work; many of the peculiar developments of Irish Christianity,—its severe austerities, its forms of worship, its legends of saints,—have a throw-back into pre-Christian times and habits. Dom Gougand is already well known to students of such subjects by a number of special studies bearing on various sides of Celtic Christianity, which have appeared from time to time in *The Journal of Theological Studies* and elsewhere. The results of these studies are now presented to the reader in book form.

We would remind Dom Gougand that the theory of successive immigrations into Britain from the Continent of Gaelic and

Brythonic tribes, the Brython pushing the Gael westward to Ireland, is less universally accepted than it was a few years ago. Dr. Kuno Meyer's alternative theory that no Gaelic tribes came into Britain direct from the Continent, and that the Gaelic settlements in Britain were entirely offshoots from Ireland, seems to be gaining ground, and to be supported by Mr. George Coffey's investigations into the origin and date of late Celtic ornament in the tumuli of Ireland.

ELEANOR HULL.

KWARTALNIK ETNOGRAFIONCY LUD. Tom. XVI., zeszyt I. Lwów, 1910.

THIS is the first number for 1910 of the quarterly review issued by the Polish Ethnological Society of Lwów (Leopol). It contains a few original articles on comparative folklore, among which may be mentioned an erudite discussion of the *motif* of the Flowering Branch by the editor, Mr. A. R. Fischer. Among the shorter notes are an interesting extract from the records of a sorcery trial held in a small town of South Poland (Bochnia) early in the seventeenth century, and accounts of popular superstitions and customs drawn from the court records of other small places and communicated by Prof. Fr. Bujak of Cracow University.

It may be interesting to Western folklorists to say a few words on this review in general, and to give a short outline of the history of ethnographical and folklore research in Poland.

There are several reasons why Polish folklore should attract the special attention of students. In the first place, a new acquisition of material has not merely the importance of a simple addition to the present store of knowledge. For, if folklore and ethnology are to be comparative sciences,—and they seem to tend always more and more in that direction,—every new term of comparison opens quite new horizons and tests former conclusions, and often parts of the previously stored knowledge which appeared useless can be utilised by means of some clue contained in the new contribution, especially if the latter presents an original type

and appears to be uninfluenced by foreign elements. I venture to say that these two qualities may be expected from the folklore of Poland, as the Polish nation forms, together with the Czechs and the Slovaks (inhabiting the northern portion of Hungary), the remnant of the North-western Slavonic peoples who formerly occupied all the country eastwards from the river Elbe. These peoples differ in many ways from the Eastern Slavonic stock, (the Ruthenians and the Russians), and still more from the South Slavonic, and any one of the three nations first mentioned could therefore be chosen as representative of this distinct type of the race. The Slovaks can hardly serve satisfactorily in that way, as it is only lately that any attempt has been made to investigate their folklore. With the Czechs much collection has been done,¹ but from geographical configuration we should expect that the beliefs and customs of the Polish people would be less influenced by foreign contact than those of the Czechs, who form an ethnical island among German-speaking peoples. This supposition could be confirmed only by comparative study, and in any case a comparison of Polish with Czech material would be of the highest interest. Much material has already been collected in Poland, although comparatively little has yet been done for its systematic investigation, and some of the older collections need to be revised, and probably also brought up to date on many points and controlled by a series of new and first-hand observations, while there is still time to record customs and beliefs which are rapidly vanishing.

The history of systematic and extensive collecting work in Poland starts with the nineteenth century, at the beginning of which the most eminent men of letters and scientists of the country sought to direct general attention to the necessity of ethnographic research. In 1802-3 H. Kollataj and J. P. Woronicz, two prominent writers and zealous patriots, pleaded the cause of

¹There are the publications of the Česká Akad. of Prague, the periodical publication *Certý Lid*, and a whole series of collections in the Bohemian language. In foreign tongues there are K. J. Erber's *N. W. Slav Legends and Fairy Stories*, (London, 1897), A. Chodzko's *Fairy Tales of the Slav Peasants*, (London, 1896), and J. T. Naaké's *Slavonic Fairy Tales*, (London, 1874), which contain general Slavonic material, especially from the north-west area.

folklore both in speech and writing. In 1805 appeared the first ethnographic articles in the "New Diary of Warsaw" (*Nowy Pamiętnik Warszawski*), and between 1807 and 1811 several collections of folklore material were published. But we may consider A. Czarnocki as the real initiator of the ethnographic movement in Poland, by his collection and editing of materials between 1814 and 1820. Some more extensive publications followed, of the nature of monographs dealing with definite subjects and trying to exhaust them. We may note the general treatise of L. Golebiowski, *Lud polski* ("The Polish People"), issued in 1820; the collection of Galician songs by W. Zaleski (1833); the Bialoruthenian songs by K. W. Wajcicki (1836); and the general collection of Polish songs by Z. Pauli (1838). But collecting activity was already quite general, and all the periodicals became full of articles which, although written by amateurs, undoubtedly contain valuable data, of which use has already been made. O. Kolberg, (whose extensive work on the Polish people is the largest and, on the whole, the best of the older sources in our possession), was a musician who started collecting Polish popular songs and gradually extended his research over the whole area of ethnography and nearly the whole of the country. During the years 1857-90 he published in 23 volumes an exceedingly rich collection, with some pictures illustrating national costumes and many musical notes; the latter are particularly valuable, as music and song play an important part in the life of the people. Many of the melodies of Chopin are directly borrowed from Polish popular tunes. In 1857 also appeared a monograph on the people of the Ukraine by Nowosielski. After the seventies there began to be issued several periodical publications setting a much higher scientific standard. In 1877 the anthropological committee of the Academy of Science of Cracow began to issue annual reports, which from 1896 appear in a new series under the title *Materjaly antropologiczno-archeologiczne i etnograficzne* ("Anthropological, Archaeological, and Ethnographical Materials"). In 1884 a new annual was issued in Warsaw, the *Pamiętnik fizyograficzny* ("Physiographical Record"), dedicated to folklore research. These studies were also stimulated by the development of the University of Cracow, and amongst writers may be mentioned,—

in Warsaw, Z. Gloger, A. Juszkiewicz, K. Kostowski, and E. Janota; in Cracow, Prof. L. Malinowski, R. Zawilinski, and S. Matusiak; and in Leopold, Dr. W. Ketrzynski. In 1887 the important periodical, *Wislà* ("Vistula") was founded by the late J. Karłowicz, a well-trained ethnologist who published valuable articles on comparative folklore and introduced the scientific spirit and method hitherto somewhat lacking. He arranged Polish songs systematically on the model of Child's collection. Among his coadjutors were L. Krzywicki and E. Majewski, (chiefly working in pre-history and archaeology), the latter of whom became editor of *Wislà* from the thirteenth volume. The Ethnographic Society of Lwów (Leopold) was founded in 1894, and in 1895 began to issue the quarterly *Lud*, of which the first editor was Prof. A. Kalina, and the present one is A. R. Fischer. Amongst the contributors are Prof. Bauduin de Courtenay of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, Dr. A. Brückner of the University of Berlin, Dr. J. Kallenbach of the University of Leopold, Dr. W. Klinger, lecturer in the University of Kiev, and the late Prof. Lopatinski. Last year an important advance was made by the appointment of Dr. S. Czewski to a chair of ethnology at the University of Leopold. His activity began in 1897 with the dissertation *Künstliche Verwandtschaft bei den Sudslaven*, and he is familiar with the folklore of all Slavonic nations and has studied in Zagreb (Agram), Praha (Prague), and with Prof. Ratzel in Leipzig. He has edited, chiefly for the Academy of Science of Cracow, a whole series of works on comparative folklore, and the possibility of methodic training afforded by his appointment will undoubtedly give a new impulse to research. Last year also a new periodical, *Ziemia* ("The Earth"), appeared in Warsaw.

This brief survey will show that considerable quantities of materials have been collected in Poland, sufficient for the undertaking of a systematic classification of manners, customs, and beliefs. Such an enterprise, as remarked above, would be of great importance for comparative folklore in general, and would greatly stimulate first-hand research in Poland itself.

B. MALINOWSKI.

NOTES ETHNOGRAPHIQUES SUR LES PEUPLES COMMUNÉMENT APPELÉS BAKUBA, AINSI QUE SUR LES PEUPLADES APPARENTÉES.—LES BUSHONGO. (Annales du Musée du Congo Belge. Série III, Tome II, Fasc. I). Par E. TORDAY et T. A. JOYCE. Bruxelles, 1910. Folio, pp. 291. Map, col. pl., and ill.

THIS splendid work is the first fruits of an expedition projected, I gather, in the joint interest of the British Museum and the Musée du Congo Belge. It was composed of Mr. E. Torday, Mr. M. W. Hilton-Simpson, and Mr. Norman H. Hardy, and left England in October, 1907, returning after an absence of nearly two years in September, 1909. The principal tribes visited were the Bushongo, the Basongo Meno, the northern Batetela, the Akela and Bankutu, the Bapende, Bakongo, and Bashilele, all of them occupying portions of the basin of the Kasai and its affluents, the Sankuru, Lukenje, and Loange, between the 19th and 24th parallels of longitude east of Greenwich. The country of the three last-named tribes had never before been penetrated by Europeans. The results now published concern chiefly the Bushongo, among whom the best opportunities for work offered and several months were spent. Notes on the adjacent and related tribes were, however, made as far as practicable, and are included, together with a separate section on the Basongo Meno. It is to be hoped that further information on the Bashilele and Bakongo will soon be obtainable; for these tribes are held by the explorers to be not only related to the Bushongo, but to have been the vanguard of the Bantu immigration into the Kasai basin. Great pains were taken to be assured of the correctness of the information obtained. The explorers were fully alive to the importance of accuracy; and Mr. Torday at least is a field-anthropologist of much experience, who had already given to the world from time to time reports on various tribes of the Congo,—reports much valued by students, and the result of long and painstaking enquiry.

The Bushongo, like most of the western Bantu, reckon kinship exclusively through the mother. If their historical traditions are to be trusted, their chiefs have on several occasions even been

women. A list of 121 chiefs, ending with the reigning sovereign, is given as preserved in the memory of an hereditary functionary called the Moaridi, who is charged with the duty of preserving these traditions. The earlier traditions are a state secret confined to high personages, and presumably recited only in secret conclave. Their exact importance from the point of view of history is of course a matter of doubt, though Mr. Torday thinks that some of the events recorded are facts that can even be approximately dated, by the help of astronomical and other calculations. These "facts" go back as far as the year A.D. 490, to which he assigns the first construction of native huts by the order of the third chief, a woman named Lobamba. Under Lobamba's successor, Woto, about the year 510 iron was discovered, the Bashilele separated from the Bushongo, and circumcision and the poison-ordeal were introduced. These events took place before the Bushongo arrived at their present seats; for it was not until far on in the sixth century, according to the explorer's calculations, that the Sankuru was passed and the Bushongo finally settled in the territory they now occupy. About the same period salt was discovered; but the invention of fire by friction and of bark-cloth did not take place until about the year 780, under the 27th chief, Muchu Mushanga. The 41st chief, Gokare, a woman, is assigned to the year 955. By that time the Bushongo had had enough of women as chiefs; and it was then decreed that none should henceforth reign unless the male descendants of the royal family failed. The apogee of the Bushongo power is placed in the opening decades of the seventeenth century under Shamba Bolongongo, the 93rd chief, a calculation that, like that of subsequent events, appears more likely to be trustworthy than those of the earlier reigns. Beyond the first date on which Mr. Torday ventures (with not a little boldness, as I think) lies what is obviously a mythical period. The traditions of this period were only obtained by the expedition with much difficulty, and as a great secret belonging to the elders who are the guardians of all myths and rites.

According to these tales, a sort of Supreme Being, Bumba, Chembe or Jambi (*cf.* Nzambi of other tribes), felt pains in his stomach, and vomited up successively sun, moon, and stars. The

sun dried the earth, which till then had been covered with water and darkness, and Bumba exhibited the same symptoms as before. This time he disgorged certain animals, and finally men. The animals and men in their turn produced in the same way other animals and a plant from which all vegetables have since proceeded. When all this was done, Bumba laid down certain taboos, committed the government of the world to the three wisest men, and retired from business into the skies, where he troubles very little about men, save occasionally to communicate with them in dreams. He receives no worship.

The effective religion seems to be "fetish" or idol-worship managed by a kind of clergy, called Gombo, who are also diviners and magicians. A man is composed of three parts in addition to his body, namely, the Ido, or double, Mophuphu, the soul, and Edidingi, the shade. The Ido at death enters some wild animal, which is in due course met and killed by the heir, and there is an end of it. The soul, Mophuphu, is said to rejoin Jambi somewhere, but no one knows where. The Isambo, however, say that it is interred with the body and afterwards enters a food-plant and is eaten, so finding reincarnation by means of a new birth. The Bangongo regard such reincarnation as an exceptional and occasional event. What becomes of the shade does not appear. Only bad men become ghosts. They are dealt with summarily, when troublesome, by digging up the body and burning the bones. Parallel methods are not unknown in Europe.

Mr. Torday remarks that the extent of the list of chiefs, rare in Africa, is alone enough to prove that the Bushongo are a remarkable people. What is even more to the purpose is the fact that no traces were found of the custom, all but universal among the lower races, of the blood-feud. Not that when a murder is committed no resentment is felt by the kindred of the murdered man. But all the consequent proceedings are carried on in accordance with the forms of law. They are very interesting. The brother of the deceased lays formal information with the public crier, who announces the fact to the village. The chief then proclaims the outlawry of the accused, and calls upon all subjects to arrest him and bring him to the capital, dead or alive. If he resist the attempt to arrest him, he is killed; otherwise he is

brought in chains to the chief. The man who effected the arrest is rewarded, and is himself given in charge to the commander-in-chief until the trial. The latter official is the judge if the murder has been committed with a cutting weapon; in other cases another official presides at the trial. The procedure of the court is marked by dignity and perfect order in all judicial enquiries. Accuser and accused are heard; their witnesses are examined, and hearsay evidence is excluded after the fashion of the most enlightened tribunals. The judge may pronounce sentence of death, or inflict a heavy fine payable to the chief. In the former case the chief must confirm the sentence before it can be carried out. He will extend his mercy where drunkenness or insanity is the excuse, that is to say, where there was no criminal intent, or where the accused is a child. It is only in the execution of the sentence that barbarism is to be found. The condemned man is taken outside the enclosure of the royal palace, his chains are struck off, and he is delivered over to the crowd to be lynched. There is no punishment for killing in self-defence, or by accident. On the other hand suicide is regarded as a crime, and the kinsmen are fined.

Two tables of Terms of Relationship are given, one containing the Bambala and Bangongo terms, and the other the Bohindu terms. Unhappily neither of them is free from ambiguities and omissions. However, as the terms are different in all their dialects, they are of little help in forming a judgement on the details of the system of kinship prevailing. Although matrilineal descent only is reckoned, the children are considered to belong to the father. In other words, patrilineal customs are beginning to creep in. The father's rights, however, as yet are limited. He can neither slay nor sell his children, though among the western tribes explored he may pledge them. A curious extension of prohibited degrees is found. Children born in the same month of the same year are called, in regard to one another, *Bay*. They have the rights of brothers and sisters, except that of inheritance; and they cannot intermarry, unless (in the case of Bambala girls) with the chief. Indeed, in theory at least, all Bambala girls who are *Bay* with the chief, when he comes to the throne are his wives. A woman will suckle her child's *Bay*, and such a child will eat

with his *Bay's* mother. Here perhaps is the reason of the prohibition; there is a milk-bond between the children.

As among other western Bantu, the taboos suggest a decayed totemism. If totemism were not found among Bantu elsewhere, they would be no more than a suggestion here; and in any case little can be made of them. They rest upon villages, not upon families, and not even upon all villages, for some appear to be exempt, except in so far as taboos may be laid upon individuals by the priests and medicine-men. The taboo of animals is called *Ikina Bari*, and its object is said to be to teach men abstinence. Thus, if the *Ikina* of a man be the leopard, he may eat neither leopard nor any animal killed by a leopard. Sickness and death would result from infringement of the taboo. The *Ikina*, it will be seen, in some sense is sacred; yet no cult is rendered to it, and it may even be killed, for what sufficient reason we are not told. Formerly a man might not marry any woman who had the same *Ikina Bari* as himself. Presumably, therefore, he must have gone outside his own village for a wife. This prohibition, I gather, no longer holds. The wife now adopts the husband's *Ikina*, and it descends to the children. The mother's *Ikina* continues to be observed by them, but only up to a certain point; and its observance does not transcend the limit of a single generation. The inheritance of the taboo in the male line seems to be the result of the custom (which is, however, not without exception among these tribes) of taking the wife to the husband's home, and so in line with the usual development of Father-Right.

Space fails me to direct attention to all the points of interest to students of folklore. I have barely touched upon the Basongo Meno, to whom an important chapter is devoted. Nor is the material culture discussed with less care than the mental and moral culture and the organization of society. The houses, the art, the methods of hunting and fishing, the agriculture, and the adornment of the body, (including tattooing, cicatrization, and the depilation of eyebrows), all come under review, and are profusely illustrated with cuts in the text and plates. The plates, which are of great beauty, are, so far as regards the illustrations of the native form, costumes, and house interiors, from the pencil of Mr. Norman Hardy. Acknowledgement is made of Mrs. Joyce's

drawing of others, including many of the illustrations in the text exhibiting the native patterns of cloths, pottery, and carving, the processes of manufacture, tattooing, and other designs not reproduced from photographs, and they abundantly testify to her skill. Some of the photographs in the text are good, but most of them are small and lack clearness. Two maps are given of the explorers' route.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL REPORT ON THE EDO-SPEAKING PEOPLES OF NIGERIA. Part I.; Law and Custom. Part II.; Linguistics. By NORTHCOTE W. THOMAS. Harrison & Sons, 1910. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 163 + 251.

THE Edo-speaking peoples inhabit the Central Province of Southern Nigeria, and it is among them that Mr. Thomas began his work as Government anthropologist; the two volumes before us are the outcome of his first expedition. The first of them deals with law and custom, and the second with folklore and linguistics. My impression is that Mr. Thomas has been obliged to cover more ground than is compatible with thoroughness; the consequence of this is that his survey is a most excellent handbook for the local official, but leaves the anthropologist with a thirst for more information. But, as these volumes are published by the Government, there can be no doubt that the practical part of an ethnological survey had to be kept in view by the author, and that he had to reserve much of his material, collected during his travels, for later works. The purpose of these volumes is clearly shown by the way they are indexed; as soon as one tries to find some passage of interest only to the specialist, no reference can be found to it.

Fortunately this is all that can be said against the book, and now I can turn to the more pleasant task of praising it. Mr. Thomas has adopted the excellent method of recording folk-tales by means of the phonograph, and thus giving us an exact account in the natives' own words, appending a verbatim translation.

I have no doubt that some objections will be raised by the apparently puzzling accentuations; but, if one keeps in mind that the texts can be read without taking any notice of these accents, one is easily reconciled to this concession to phonetics. What is more inconvenient is the fact that whole sentences are written as if they were a single word; by this, research is made unnecessarily difficult for those not acquainted with Edo, e.g. *Omamiukpalamemila* ("He did not find tip of the cow's tongue.") This ought to have been rendered as follows,—*Oma(i)mi(oi)* ("He did not find")—*ukp(a)* ("tip")—*alam(e)* ("tongue")—*emila* ("cow."),—"He did not find the tip of the cow's tongue." It is no good trying to give only the verbatim translation, for any person unacquainted with the negro way of expression could scarcely understand this. Many of these stories are well worth a second translation, being of great interest. First of all we find hero stories, of which the following is a fair sample, and shall in consequence be transcribed. I am not sure that my attempt is successful, but the native text is unavoidably obscure in many places :—

Emigaheme, a slave of Ehenbuda, said one day that he was tired of life and was going to kill himself. He went to his master, and, presenting him with four kola nuts, said,—“I want to do things that my companions are unable to do. Take these nuts and dispose of me; I am tired of the world.” So Ehenbuda said to his Ezomo,¹—“Listen to what he says. He is tired of doing what everybody else does, and gives me these kola that I may put him to a test.”² The Ezomo asked Emigaheme,—“Are you powerful, Emigaheme?” “I am,” he answered. “You are not,” replied the Ezomo, “for, if you were, you would go and catch the murderer who hides in the bush, and bring him here.” “This I will do,” was the answer. Emigaheme then went home to his mother, and told her on what errand he had been sent. She told him to undertake it, and wished him good speed. “I shall sacrifice a goat for you,” she said, “for, however powerful you may be, the task may be beyond you.”³ So she took a goat and killed it, and put the blood into a calabash, which she gave him; he then started on his errand. When he came to a

¹ It would be interesting to know whether Ezomo stands for the same person as Osoma, who, according to Deannett, is the messenger connected with the king's wants. Mr. Thomas gives us no information on this point.

² This sentence is very freely translated.

³ Literal translation,—Even a plantain tree may wear out the edge of a knife, if the sap makes it rusty and useless.

certain road, he smeared the blood over his knife, so as to make it look as if he had committed a murder. He met the murderer, who asked him who he was. "I am Emigaheme," he replied. "Let us make friends. I want you to receive me." The murderer saluted him, and then took him to his hut, hidden in the bush. When they got there, the murderer invited him to be seated, and offered him food. This Emigaheme accepted, but suggested that they should wash before partaking of it. For this they went to the river. Who was to wash first? Emigaheme! He then said to the murderer,— "It is long since I have washed, so I shall have to use soap." When he had finished, he gave the soap to the murderer, and, when the latter used it, he rubbed some into his eyes. This blinded him, and he fell into the river, where Emigaheme held him under water until the murderer was so feeble that it was easy to bind him. Thus he led him away to his house in the bush, and there took all his treasures,—pots of round beads, pots of square beads, pots of cowries. With these they went to Benin, and, when they arrived there, he said to Omada,— "Announce my arrival." When he came before the king, the king said,— "You are a brave man. I shall give you a present." But the Ezomo said,— "Do not yet reward him. There is a crocodile in Ovia. Let him bring that first." Emigaheme said he would do this, and the king gave him a spear of brass and a spear of iron. He then went home.

He went to the ferryman, and asked him to ferry him over the river; but the ferryman was afraid of the crocodile. Emigaheme said to him,— "Have no fear, I have come to slay the crocodile." So the ferryman fetched his canoe to put him across, and, as they were crossing, Emigaheme saw the crocodile. He approached it, and thrust both his spears,—the iron one and the brass one,—at it. The crocodile sank, and Emigaheme told the ferryman that he would follow it. Now the crocodile had gone to heaven, and there he followed it. As he proceeded, he came to a gate which was guarded by a fowl, and the fowl would not let him pass; but he gave it some corn, and it allowed him to proceed. Then he reached a gate guarded by a goat, and the goat would not let him pass; so he gave it some yam peelings, and it allowed him to proceed. Then he came to a gate guarded by a cow; he gave it some plantains, and it let him pass; after this he reached a gate guarded by a lame man, to whom he gave some cassava-bread,⁴ and he too let him pass. He then met Ehenbada's mother, who asked him whither he was bent to go. "I am going to heaven." "Oh," she said "what for?" "I am going," he replied, "to fetch the crocodile I have killed." "But you won't recognise yours among the many that are there." He thought he might. But she said,— "You may know it because they have rubbed it with camwood and chalk; with chalk on the side you speared it; so, if they ask you to choose your two spears, choose those which are dyed with camwood. Do not forget this! And, should they offer you food, by no means must you partake of it before you are gone." He said he would remember. Then she gave

⁴Why does Mr. Thomas use the word "fu-fu"? It is neither Edo nor English.

him two tortoises. "Should God invite you to kneel down, you must not do this in his palace on the ground, but you must put your knees on these tortoises."

He marched on until he reached heaven. When he came to God's house, Esu (the devil) saw him, and asked what his errand was. "I have come to see the face of God. Go and tell him, as well as the god Olokun, and ask them to come to me." The devil went and gave the message. So they came. With them was Ebranisa, who told him to kneel down. So he took the tortoises, put them on the ground, and knelt upon them. God then asked him why he had come. "I came for my crocodile that I have shot, as I heard it had come to this place." "Was it the king's crocodile?" "Yes." "How did you kill it?" "With a spear of brass and a spear of iron." "If you saw it, would you know it again?" "I would." "If you were shown your spears, would you know them?" "Yes, I would." So they brought him a number of spears, and he recognised his own. Then they brought crocodiles, and invited him to select his own; but, when he saw them, he said,—"Mine is not among these, for it bears marks of chalk and marks of camwood on its body." Then they brought his, and he recognised it and showed it to God. God then said,—"Go now home. You will find the crocodile on your way. You may take it to the king of Benin." Then he was offered food, but he refused it, and threw it away; so, thanking them, he returned.

On his way back he met the mother of Ehenbada, who greeted him. "Are you going to Benin?" she asked. "Yes." "Will you take a poor present from me to my son?" "Yes." So she made up a parcel, and said,—"Tell my son this is all I can send him. I am so poor, I possess nothing." When he reached the river, there was the ferryman, whom he asked to ferry him over. This done, he asked him,—"Where is the crocodile." "There it is on the top of the bank," was the answer, "look at it." So he took it and arrived in his country. People welcomed him there, and he told them how he had been to heaven and had safely returned. When he reached Benin, his mother greeted him. "You are invincible, my son," she said. He told the people to inform the king that he had come; so the king came to him, and said,—"Hail, friend, now you shall have your reward." But the Ezomo said,—"Don't reward him." The king said to the Ezomo,—"Be silent. I shall reward him, although not at once. There is a bull in Okedo, that prevents the women of Benin from going to Enyai. Go first and bring that bull to me." "So I will," said Emigaheme, and went home. There he told his mother what new task he had to perform, and she said,—"Go, you will come back safely. . . . Get a bag of *ovu* and yam peelings, and take some salt with you." Off he went, and when he met the bull he gave him the yam peelings and the *ovu* to eat, and, while he ate, Emigaheme fastened a rope to him, and led him to Benin. When he came to the town, he said to Omada,—"I beg of you to salute the king from me, and tell him that I have brought the bull. I should like to see him," and lo! there the king came. "Have you got him," he asked, "have you? You are a man! You shall be

rewarded." But the Ezomo said,—“Do not reward him yet. He has not done enough.” The king replied,—“Why not? Has he not performed three tasks for me? Does he not deserve reward?”

As they were arguing, two men came running from Uzebu. “Ezomo,” they shouted, “come, Ezomo, your house is on fire.” The Ezomo rushed off, and found his house ablaze. He exclaimed,—“What shall I do?” In despair he fell into the fire, and was burnt to death. So the messengers who had come before returned to the king, and told him that the Ezomo had been burnt to death. The king exclaimed,—“What shall I do now? The Ezomo has been burnt in his house, and I have to do without him. Come, Emigaheme, you shall take his place, and I give you all his cattle, goats, fowls, cloth, yams, and ivory, so that you may make sacrifice to Ezomagma.” Emigaheme thanked him, and sent his mother and all his relatives to do the same. Then he went to the palace, and the king said,—“You have served me well!” And he gave him beads, cloth, cows, and all sorts of things, and said,—“You shall be the Ezomo.”

Some of the animal stories are delightful. The following is a sample of these :—

A bitch had seven puppies. At the same time a she-leopard bore seven cubs. The leopard called the dog, and proposed that each of them should kill one of her children on alternate days in order to make soup of them. The bitch agreed, and said,—“Leopard, your children were born before mine, so it behoves you to kill a cub of yours first.” This the leopard did; she made soup of it, and took a fore-leg to the bitch as her share. But the dog only licked it and then smoked it, (so that it might lose its scent), and the next morning she rubbed it with palm oil, cooked it, and took it to the leopard, making her believe that it was her share of a puppy. The next day the leopard killed another of her cubs, and took a part of it to the bitch, who again put it away and offered it the next day as part of a puppy. Thus the leopard killed all her cubs, and the bitch returned her share every following day and never killed a puppy. When all her cubs were dead, the leopard said that she would pay a visit to the dog; when she reached the gate of the dog's house, she heard the dog talking to her sons. “Ah,” she said, “the dog has not killed her sons; I shall wait until one day when she goes away, and shall then come and eat them.”

One day, three months later, the bitch washed her hair, and, having done so, she said,—“I shall now go to a farm.” The pups told her that if she left them alone the leopard would come and kill them; so she took them all and put them into a water pot, and covered them up carefully. As soon as she had gone, the leopard came, and looked carefully round, but could not find the puppies. Being thirsty, she wanted to drink, but, when she touched the water pot with her paw, the puppies bit her. She exclaimed,—“This is a bad business. The dog has eaten fish, and put their bones round the water pot, so that anybody wanting to drink may hurt his hand.” As she spoke, she heard the dog coming home; so she ran back to her own house.

When the bitch entered, a puppy came to meet her, and said,—“While you were away, the leopard came, but could not find us. Then she wanted to drink water, and came to the water pot where you hid us; but we bit her hand, and she complained how bad you were for having put fishbones round the water pot.” The dog mother said,—“Be quiet, you are naughty boys.”

Next morning the bitch had to go to the market, and she mused as to where she could find a safe place to hide the puppies. One puppy said,—“Don’t trouble. You just give me some string.” The mother said,—“What good can it do?” but gave the string all the same. And the puppy put pegs in the middle of the floor, and, binding one end of the string to them, tied the other to the top of the roof. Then he took his six brothers, and put them all on the top of the roof. When they were all there, he said,—“Now, mother, you may go to the market.”

Soon the leopard came, and looked for them all round the house, and the pups called down to him to look up to the roof. “How did you climb up there?” the leopard asked. The puppy replied,—“Do you see the string in the middle of the floor? We climbed up on it.” So the leopard went to the string, and began climbing up, but, when it was half way, the pup bit the string, and the leopard fell down, knocked his head, and died. The puppy then came down, cut up the leopard, and put him on the fire to cook. When the mother came back from the market, the puppy said,—“Mother, I have killed the leopard.” “How did you do it?” she asked. “I made him climb up the string, and then cut it. He fell, and died.” The bitch was pleased, and they all ate the leopard, so that nothing was left of him.

The puppy told his mother that he wanted to see the world; so, taking provisions for the journey, he started. When he came to Ehramosaghodo, he saw Osa, carrying some fowl in a calabash. He greeted him,—“Hail, father. Let me help you.” So Osa gave him the load, and the puppy carried it behind him to the farm; there the fowls were released. They worked together on the farm. One day he asked Osa,—“Are there any wild fowl near the place where we are working?” Osa said that there were. So the puppy proposed to make traps to catch them. He pretended to do so, but in going to the bush he took two of Osa’s tame fowls and killed them. These he hid in the bush. When he came back to Osa, he said,—“There are many partridges near this farm. I have made traps to catch some.” They worked the whole day, and, when evening came, the puppy said he would go and see his traps; in the bush he took the two tame fowls he had killed, plucked all their feathers, and took them to Osa, saying that he had caught two partridges. They ate them, and when night came they went to sleep. Thus two by two he killed all of Osa’s fowls. In time Osa said that he was going home, and asked the pup to bring his fowls. But the pup said,—“Where are your fowls? Have you not eaten them all, two every day?” Osa took a whip and beat the pup, which was running away. So they came to a place where palm wine was made; there stood an empty calabash, and the puppy jumped inside. Osa asked the man who was making the palm wine to pour the wine out of the calabash, and to let him have the dregs; this the man did, and Osa took the

calabash, wanting to drink the dregs; but, when he raised it to his mouth, out jumped the puppy, straight into his eye, and there it became the pupil.

In the volume on law and customs, the second chapter, dealing with religion and magic, is of great interest to the folklorist. The Edo-speaking peoples recognise a supreme divinity, Osa or Osa-lobula, and there is a great deal of ancestor-worship. Osa's emblem consists of a pole with white cloth on it, and is found in nearly every village; he plays a conspicuous part in their tales. Creator of the world and all that inhabits it, he is said to have an evil counterpart in Osanoha, or Osa of the bush. The Ebo are minor deities, and temples sacred to them, Egwaibo, are found in various parts of the country. Charms, much used and receiving sacrifice, are called Uchumu. Eosu is first cousin to our devil. In the greater Egwaibo, stones and other emblems of the deity are deposited, and it is very curious that, when these emblems are brought out, all women are warned to keep out of the way, whereas no precaution seems to be taken to prevent them from seeing these objects in the shrines, which not infrequently are cleaned by women. This and other instances given seem to show that the danger lies more in observation of the ceremonies than in the fact of seeing the sacred objects. Women have a different set of divinities, the principal among whom is Obiame, the mother of all mankind. There is further a child's deity called Akobie, represented by a human figure on the wall of a house, in which there are several shrines. A portable charm is called Ohume-wele, and in the morning, before speaking to anyone, its owner wets his finger with saliva, draws it over the amulet, and then down his forehead, saying,—“May every man, woman, and child do good to me.”

The book contains an interesting description of the manufacture of “medicine,” and an instructive account of ceremonies connected with witchcraft; one can only regret that there are not more of these. As for charms, the resemblance of the *idiogbo* to the Ababua *torro* is remarkable.

The Government of Nigeria is highly to be commended for having given its official recognition to the importance of anthropology by the appointment of a Government anthropologist, and furthermore for having selected for this post so efficient

a representative of this science as Mr. Thomas. Is it not an anomaly that a small country, like Belgium, should have a very active bureau of ethnology, and that England, with such a variety of peoples to govern, should have no institution of this kind? I sincerely hope that the example of Nigeria will be followed shortly by all the colonies, and that a central body for classification and preservation of the material gathered will be established in London.

E. TORDAY.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA. ANTHROPOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM. Vol. ii, No. 1. TAKELMA TEXTS. By EDWARD SAPHIR. Vol. iii, No. 1. EXCAVATIONS IN THE ISLAND OF PSEIRA, CRETE. By RICHARD B. SEAGER. Philadelphia: Univ. Museum, 1909-10. 4to, pp. 264; pp. 38, 9 plates and text ill.

THESE are two valuable additions to the rapidly growing series of works for which students have to thank the tardy awakening to anthropology and archæology of modern universities. The *Takelma Texts* from Oregon were prepared as a result of a research fellowship in 1908-9. Mr. Saphir believes the culture-hero Daldal, (or Daldal and his brother, who form a hero-pair of the kind known also among other tribes), whose wanderings are told in one of the myths, to represent the dragon-fly. The stories as a whole have perhaps rather more of the element of naive immodesty than most similar collections, but this may be due to the single narrator from whom the collection was made. The story end-formula is "Go gather and eat your ba'p' seeds." A trace was found of the weird Indian myth of the rolling head, but amongst the tales telling why the otter's skin is black, why the raven croaks, and so on, and charms for sneezing, the new moon, against heavy rain, etc., the most curious item is a tar-baby story, ("Coyote and Pitch," pp. 86-9). Although a similar Yana tale has been found, and although the details are Indian, it is difficult to think with Mr. Saphir that this "proves it beyond doubt to be entirely aboriginal," and not that it is an example of the diffusion

of a distinctly African story from the negro population long established in the United States.

The well-illustrated volume on the Pseira excavations contains a few matters of folklore interest. The finest jar discovered, (reproduced in colour), is decorated with bulls' heads and many double-headed axes, suggesting ritual use, especially as the deeply undercut rim has pierced holes to secure a cloth cover. A basket-shaped vase is also elaborately decorated with double axes, and a number of other cult objects are described,—clay bulls (votive offerings?) covered with white slip and painted with orange-red or purple harness, traces of pebble altars, triton shells cut out to form ritual vessels, a large bull's head, etc.

SHORT NOTICES.

Canadian Folk-Lore Society. First Annual Report. Toronto, 1911.
8vo, pp. ii + 14.

WE are glad of this opportunity of introducing for the help and good wishes of our members a new, although not the newest, addition to the family of Folk-Lore Societies. The gap left in Canada by the lapse about 1898 of the Montreal Branch of the American Folk-Lore Society has now been filled, and the present Report details the meetings of an active first session in 1909-10, which was preceded by a lecture from Mr. E. Sidney Hartland. The subscription to the Society is only one dollar, but a limit is fixed to the number of members. Cannot Canada find work for more than 200? The secretary is preparing a bibliography, and the Society hopes to form a library and issue publications.

South Pembrokeshire. Some of its History and Records. By MARY BEATRICE MIREHOUSE. Nutt, 1910. 4to, pp. vii + 79.

PENDING the publication of a detailed account of the whole folklore of "Little England beyond Wales," chapter iii of *South Pembrokeshire*, "On names, customs, and provincialisms," adds a little to our information. Much more must still remain to be noted, even although we are here told that St. Stephen's Day wren-hunting and the sprinkling of New Year's water have died out, and

that the practice is no longer universal of chalking patterns round the edge of the doorstep, carefully avoiding any gap between doorpost and doorpost lest the Devil should get in. The authoress loves and knows the district. Will she not collect its folklore fully before it is too late?

Bye-Gones relating to Wales and the Border Counties. 1909-10.
(Vol. xi. New Series). Elliot Stock. Sq. 8vo, pp. 300.

THIS substantial volume contains two years' gleanings from the weekly column "Bye-Gones" in the *Border Counties Advertiser*, and almost two columns of the index are filled by items classified under "Folk-Lore, Customs, etc." The index has been carefully made, and many of the items are noteworthy. If the excellent example of the *Advertiser* were generally followed, the completeness and early completion of *County Folklore* would be greatly advanced.

All about the Merry Tales of Gotham. By ALFRED STAPLETON.
(2nd edit.). Nottingham: 39, Burford Road, 1910. Sm. 8vo.
pp. viii + 168 + vi + 48. Ill.

THIS volume is another example of assistance given to our study by a well-disposed local press, from whose columns have been reprinted both the original and the present entirely rearranged and revised edition. Although Clouston and W. G. Hazlitt have discussed tales of noodles pretty fully, and the latter and others have reprinted "The Merry Tales of the Mad Men of Gotham," there is ample justification for the present work, which contains, besides a reprint of the earliest chapbook and bibliography, additional tales, discussions of authorship and origin, literary allusions, etc. Mr. Stapleton has also restored the tales to popular life in No. 127 of "Books for the Bairns."

Books for Review should be addressed to
THE EDITOR OF *Folk-Lore*,
c/o DAVID NUTT,
57-59 LONG ACRE, LONDON, W.C.

Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XXII.]

DECEMBER, 1911.

[No. IV.]

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 5th, 1911.

THE PRESIDENT (MR. W. CROOKE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the February and March meetings were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. A. W. Beckett, Mr. G. F. B. de Gruchy, the Rev. R. M. Heanley, and Dr. F. S. Schmidt, as members of the Society, and the enrolment of the Illinois University Library, the Oriental Institute (Vladivostock), and the North Staffordshire Field Club as subscribers to the Society, were announced.

The resignation of Mrs. J. G. Speakman was also announced.

Miss C. S. Burne exhibited a collection of Pace Eggs from Cumberland and Lancashire. Major A. J. O'Brien read a paper entitled "Some Matrimonial Problems of the Western Border of India" (pp. 426-48), and exhibited a number of photographs of Balochis and Mohammedans of the Western Punjab. In the discussion which followed Sir James Wilson, Mr. Clodd, Mr. T. C. Hodson, Mr. Torday, and the President took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Major O'Brien for his paper.

LORD AVEBURY ON MARRIAGE, TOTEMISM, AND RELIGION.

BY A. LANG.

LORD AVEBURY, like Yama the discoverer of Death, "opened a pathway unto many," by his book on *Pre-historic Times* (1865), followed (1870) by his *Origin of Civilisation*. Though written so long ago, and though concerned with anthropology, these books are still popular, like all that Lord Avebury writes.

It was under Lord Avebury, Mr. E. B. Tylor, and Mr. J. F. M'Lennan that men began their anthropological studies between 1870 and 1880. These teachers, naturally, were not agreed on many points which still divide us. Amongst these the most serious are the questions, "What was the social condition of man before the evolution of the various restrictions on marriage connected with Totemism and Exogamy; and how were Totemism and Exogamy evolved?" Again, "By what earliest steps did man attain to religious beliefs"?

My own "early views" have been and must continue to be modified by fresh discoveries and new reflections.

Lord Avebury, on the other hand, in his *Marriage, Totemism, and Religion. An Answer to Critics* (Longmans, 1911), abides, on the whole, by the conclusions of his book of 1870, and thinks that they "have received additional support from the evidence which has since accumulated" (p. vii).

In criticising his views, I took them, in 1903, from the sixth edition of his *Origin of Civilisation*, published in 1902.¹ Lord Avebury's terms, in 1902, retained the perplexing use of "tribe," "class," "*gens*," and "sept," and the "tribe," as far as I could understand, seemed now to be envisaged as a fairly large, and again as a very small, community. "Family names" appeared to be synonymous with names of totem-kins, and people of the same "family name" to "belong therefore to the same tribe." "Family," "*gens*," "class," "clan," and "tribe" were, as far as I could perceive, sometimes used as equivalent terms. It would be easy for Lord Avebury to define his terms and use them consistently, but, in his new work, as we shall see, he retains the indefinite terms, which make it hard to interpret his meaning. It is certain that his views about a pristine kinless state of "communal marriage," (that is, of *no* marriage, of no "exclusive relations" of any man or men with any woman or women), are accepted by several of the leading modern explorers and theorists, such as Messrs. Howitt, Spencer, and Gillen, and, (if I succeed in understanding him), by Mr. Frazer. On the other hand, with Mr. Darwin, Mr. N. W. Thomas, Dr. Störcke, Mr. E. B. Tylor, and others, (I cite Mr. Tylor from his *Anthropology*, a work of 1881), I do not believe that, in a primal stage, men and women lived without "exclusive relations" between each other; do not believe in a primal state of "communal marriage," or sexual promiscuity, in which no ideas of consanguineous or other kinship existed.

Yet, while differing from Lord Avebury on this point, I agree with him, as against Messrs. Spencer, Howitt, and Frazer, in holding that the common form of tribal exogamous division into two exogamous and intermarrying sets or phratries is not the result of a conscious human effort to improve morals, or to avert any form of supposed danger to the eugenics of the tribe. Lord Avebury and I are at

¹ See *Social Origins*, pp. 122-130.

one in holding that the two phratries are not the result of a consciously devised segmentation of the tribe, but of the union into a tribe of two sets of people previously separate.

As has been said, my opinions have often been modified, and I need scarcely dwell on Lord Avebury's criticism of views about totemism and exogamy which, since 1903, I have publicly renounced. For example, I abandoned the idea that exogamy is a consequence of the general totemic taboo.² A man of Lord Avebury's many and multifarious activities can scarcely be expected to be familiar with every contribution to scientific serials, and, as far as I observe, he never alludes to my *Secret of the Totem* (1905). I am not to defend positions which I no longer hold.

As to the corner-stone of Lord Avebury's hypothesis, namely, the idea that human society began with a stage of sexual promiscuity, or communal marriage, I prefer the opinion of Mr. Darwin that man most probably "aboriginally lived in small communities, each [man] with a single wife, or, if powerful, with several, whom he jealously guarded against all other men. Or he may not have been a social animal, and yet have lived with several wives like the gorilla," in whose band "but one adult male is seen." In either case there was no "communal marriage,"—according to Darwin. Lord Avebury objects that it would be difficult for a species so solitary and unsocial, (in the second alternative), "to make any real progress." No doubt it would. It is always very difficult "to make real progress"—in the right direction. Lord Avebury proceeds,—“Mr. Darwin himself appears to have felt the difficulty, for it will be observed that he offers an alternative: “Or he may have been a social animal and yet have lived with several wives, like the gorilla.” Mr. Darwin, in fact, wrote “Or he may *not* have been a social animal,” etc.³

Mr. Darwin offered two alternatives, (1) man social, and

² *Man*, 1906, pp. 130 *et seq.*, “The Totem Tabu and Exogamy.”

³ Cf. *Descent of Man*, vol. ii., p. 361 (1871); Avebury, pp. 15-17.

each man "jealously guarding his wives against all other men." (2) Man solitary, with his wives and offspring: no other adult male in his band. By neither Darwinian alternative is "communal marriage" conceivably possible. I agree with Mr. Darwin, and Lord Avebury differs from him; hence our systems of explaining the actual marriage regulations of very backward races inevitably vary in inverse ratio to the square of the distance which divides our initial hypotheses. In mine, man began with individual families; in Lord Avebury's, man began with sexual promiscuity and with no consciousness of consanguineous kinship.

Lord Avebury, again, is staunch to his idea of forty years ago that marriage originated in Capture. "If a man captured a woman belonging to another *tribe*," (my italics), "he thereby acquired an individual and peculiar right to her, and she became exclusively his property, no one else having any claim on or right over her." The women, in such a "tribe," would be (1) the *native* ladies, and (2) the *captured* brides. The captives would have the disadvantage of being, so to say, slaves, but each had the protection and affection of one man, her captor. The native women would be nominally free, but could refuse "the attentions" of no tribesman, and had no special claim on any man for food, shelter, and protection. Many of these women would like to be in the respectable and relatively secure position of the Brides of the Spear, whom I can imagine as already putting on airs of superior respectability; that they must have done. Again, many men would desire to have each a woman exclusively his own. That could be done, says our author, by men applying the right of capture even to women belonging to their own tribe.⁴ The original capture of a woman from an alien tribe might be, not *vi et armis*, but by wooing.

By the word "tribe" Lord Avebury appears to mean a *local* tribe of considerable size. Such tribes are friendly

⁴ Avebury, pp. 39-41.

among themselves. But, when men took to capturing women within their own tribe, the tribe would be broken up by internal blood-feuds. A tribe which practised, as a rule, capture of brides within the tribe would be weakened by internal dispeace. If Lord Avebury means that his tribes were "very small communities," capture within these would break them up entirely.

Moreover, exogamy has nothing to do, in Australia, with marriage out of the local *tribe*. Choice in marriage is regulated, as M. Salomon Reinach objects,⁵ by "clan," (totem kin); or, more properly speaking, by phratry and matrimonial classes, where these exist. Lord Avebury "fails to understand" the objection of M. Reinach, but to myself it seems intelligible and valid.

It is Lord Avebury's affair, I think, to show, step by step, how marriage by capture, out of the tribe, and marriage by capture, within the tribe, evolved the actual rules of marriage outside of the phratry, and, necessarily, out of the totem-kin. I do not find that Lord Avebury has followed the evolution step by step. He takes the case of the Buandik (formerly called Mount Gambier) tribe. Here the phratries, as is very common in South East and South West Australia, are named Black Cockatoo (Kumit) and White Cockatoo (Kroki). Mr. Howitt gives four totems confined to the former, and five different totems confined to the latter phratry. Each phratry has a totem-kin of its own name-giving fowl, Cockatoo, within it, as is usual.

How does Lord Avebury explain these facts? He does not attempt, here, to explain all of them. He postulates two original neighbouring *tribes*, one called White Cockatoo (Kroki), the other Black Cockatoo (Kumit).⁶ But where, in Australia, does he find *tribes* called by names of animals? Such names are held by many phratries, by many totem-kins, by some matrimonial classes, but not by *tribes*. However, let it be so,—there were two small neighbouring

⁵ Avebury, p. 75.

⁶ He writes "Krumite."

tribes, White and Black Cockatoos, each living in sexual promiscuity within itself, in "communal marriage." Black Cockatoo men now and then capture White Cockatoo women, and *vice versa*, captors having exclusive property in their brides. Finally, it would be the rule that no man might marry a woman of his own "tribe"; he must marry a woman of the other "tribe"; Kroki marries Kunit, Kunit weds Kroki.

Then what becomes of the practice of capture by marriage *within* the tribe?⁷ By that rule any Black Cockatoo man could marry a Black Cockatoo woman. Kroki could marry Kroki, and Kunit could marry Kunit. But they dare not do so,—under punishment of death in older times. How does Lord Avebury reconcile the facts with his theory of legalised marriage within the *tribe*? If Lord Avebury means by "tribes" a number of small local communities of animal names, originally raiding each other for wives and finally forming two leagues each of so many animal-named groups, which two leagues coalesce as intermarrying phratries, then his theory is practically the same as my own. However, Lord Avebury has now, I think, reached the hypothesis that, in the case of the Buandik, exogamy began with a stage of "one totem to one totem marriage," as exemplified in the northern Urabunna, the Itchumundi, Karamundi, and some of the Barkinji.⁸ Though he is apparently unaware of the fact, I put forward a similar theory, "under all reserves," in "Australian Problems."⁹ But the Urabunna, Karamundi, Itchumundi, and Barkinji, though each of their totem-kins marries into only one other totem-kin, have phratries, each with several totem-kins, no totem-kin appearing in both phratries. The Buandik phratries, White and Black Cockatoo, also contain, each, four or five totem-kins.

⁷ Avebury, pp. 41, 42.

⁸ Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 188, 189, 194.

⁹ *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tyler etc.*, pp. 203-218.

How does Lord Avebury explain the fact that, in the Buandik tribe, no one of the Ti-tree, Owl, and Root totems may marry a person of the Fish-hawk, Pelican, Crow, and Snake totem?

A hypothesis must colligate all the facts in the case. Why are the phratries universally, (except in the Arunta and one or two other tribes where the variation is easily explained), so arranged that none may marry into their own totems, nor into several other totems?

This question carries us to Lord Avebury's theory of the origin of totems. "*The children and followers of a man* called the Bear or the Lion would make that a tribal name."¹⁰ Then is it Lord Avebury's theory that all persons called Black Cockatoo (Kumit) and White Cockatoo (Kroki), originally were descendants of the children or followers of two men, one named Black and the other White Cockatoo? If so, Lord Avebury makes the Patriarchal system prior to Totemism! Such communities would not be tribes, but would exactly resemble Highland clans, "Sons of Wry Mouth," "Sons of Crook Nose," (Campbells and Camerons). The *Highland* clans consist of the "children and followers" of this man or that, Ian or Donald, or The Servant of Christ, (Macgilchrist), and so on.

Here we have the Patriarchal system, which could exist neither among the "kinless loons" of "communal marriage," nor under the system of female descent of the name, which Lord Avebury recognises as prior to male descent.

Lord Avebury's theory of the origin of totemism here demands the existence of recognised families, children of this or that man; now this is the Patriarchal system.

Again, Totemism "arose from the practice of naming, first individuals, and then their families, after particular animals."¹¹ Here a "family" is the family of an individual.

¹⁰ Avebury, p. 97.

¹¹ Avebury, p. 87.

"Communal marriage" could produce no such family of an individual.

But, deserting his patriarchal theory of the origin of the totem-clan, Lord Avebury (p. 99) answers Mr. Fison's objection to that theory,—if the name (Bear or Lion) "were first given to an individual, his family, i.e. his children, could not inherit it from him when descent is reckoned on the female side." To this Lord Avebury replies that, "there must, I submit, have been a still earlier stage" (than female descent of the name) "when children were not regarded as specially related either to the father or the mother, but only as part of the horde. Mr. Fison's . . . objection" (which is also Mr. Tylor's,) "therefore falls to the ground."

Here I understand Lord Avebury to mean that he now conceives totemism to have arisen in his age of "communal marriage," when fathers and their children were unknown quantities. But he had previously declared that totemism arose out of the adoption by *children* of their *father's* animal name. Against that opinion of Lord Avebury, and not against the opinion that totemism began in an age of communal marriage, Mr. Fison was arguing.

Therefore I must agree with Mr. Fison's and Mr. Tylor's objection. Their objection is to Lord Avebury's statements that "*the children and followers* of a man called the Bear or the Lion would make that a tribal name;" that totemism "arose from the practice of naming, *first individuals, and then their families*, after particular animals."¹²

Lord Avebury cannot mean to tell us, first, that totemism arose from inheritance by families of the personal names of their fathers; and then that totemism arose when children were not regarded as related either to father or mother, "but only as part of the horde" (p. 99). If he adheres to his second theory, (and he still cites his first as a theory which he holds, pp. 87, 97), how did a "horde" acquire the hereditary name of "Bear" or "Lion"?

¹² Avebury, pp. 87, 97.

Lord Avebury seems to use "horde" and "family" as synonymous terms. "A man was first regarded as merely related to his family" (p. 101). Children were "regarded only as part of the horde" (p. 99). I do not know what is meant by "family" (p. 101). Lord Avebury uses the term to denote the children of "individuals" (p. 87), or of a "man" (p. 97). If a "horde," then, be a "family," and if a "family" be "the children of a man," where is communal marriage? In place of "communal marriage" we have here the Patriarchal system, and full recognition of paternity.

Lord Avebury, as far as I can understand him, offers at once two contradictory theories. In one, totemism arose in the inheritance by a man's children of his personal name, an animal name. By the other theory, totemism arose before any degrees of consanguinity were known. All members of a "horde" were called by the horde-name, Bear or Lion, —and why was the horde named Lion or Bear?

Here Lord Avebury appears to have an answer, but it is not the answer that he gives, for example, on pp. 87, 97. In the new answer, children, families, and fathers are omitted. In the elder answer, they were essential. "My suggestion was," he says (p. 98), "that if a group was led by a man who had been named after an animal, the members of the group took the same name," Lion or Kangaroo. Here the term "group" supplants the terms "horde" and "family," and the "father" of p. 97 becomes the "leader" of p. 98. Further reply, if I understand my author, is superfluous.

Lord Avebury's theory of totemism is, as far as I can see, a combination of two contradictory hypotheses; thus it needs drastic modifications before it can be discussed with any profit. Moreover it does not explain the existence of totem-kins within each phratry whose members may not marry each other. No man or woman, say, of Frog totem, in phratry Crow, may marry a member of Crow, Snipe, Duck, Carpet Snake, Frog, or any other totem, within their

own phratry. It does not appear that Lord Avebury tries to explain the origin of this arrangement.

In all discussions we are so apt to misunderstand each other that I must express my regret if I misconceive Lord Avebury; when he seems to me to hold two contradictory theories,—one, that totemism arose in an age of recognised fatherhood, when children assumed hereditarily the animal name of their father; the other, that it arose when promiscuous hordes assumed, for ever, the name of their leader in one generation; the next leader, of course, might have another name. This remark applies to all theories according to which the name of one man, woman, or leader becomes stereotyped as the name of a totem-kin, and as the origin of a totem. Why was one of many names of individuals stereotyped as a kin-name or a group-name, before male kinship was known?

But such stereotyping is possible in much more advanced conditions, with full recognition of paternity, as in MacDonalds, Mackays, Macfearchars (Farquharsons).

Religion.

Lord Avebury, some fifty years ago, "expressed the belief that the lowest races were without any belief which could be" called religion,¹³ and he adheres to that opinion. Mr. Tylor, on the other hand, writes,—“Even in the life of the rudest savage religious belief is associated with intense emotion, with awful reverence, with agonizing terror, with rapt ecstasy when sense and thought utterly transcend the common level of daily life.”¹⁴

I never went so far as Mr. Tylor in this direction, I think.

Thus Lord Avebury's opinion is not that of *notre maître à tous*, nor of Dr. Roskoff in *Das Religionswesen der Rohesten Naturvölker*; nor is it my own opinion. Indeed, as Lord Avebury quotes me, I have said that Dr. Roskoff “con-

¹³ Avebury, p. 138.

¹⁴ *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii., p. 359 (1873).

futed" Lord Avebury. I am happy to withdraw the saying, for by "religion" Dr. Roskoff means one thing, and Lord Avebury means another thing. Lord Avebury does not recognise as "religious" beliefs and usages which are religious in the opinion of his critics. All that we can do is to produce, in the most savage regions, beliefs and usages which most men will confess to be essentially religious; and if Lord Avebury still maintains that they are not, the question is left to the verdict of anthropologists,—*judicet orbis terrarum*.

Here we are obliged, then, to define "religion," and in their definitions few people agree. Some may say that the minimum of religion is belief in non-personal power, *Mana*. Then a dispute arises as to whether *Mana* is or is not personal. Perhaps I might describe an early minimum of religion as "the belief in and a measure of obedience to a potent being or beings, not ourselves." But, if I take that line, Lord Avebury meets me with "I have never denied that the fear of ghosts, fairies, demons, genii, and Nature-spirits, of the Ariels, Nixies, Brownies, etc., is found everywhere among existing savages." (I wish I could find a savage Brownie!) "They are beings differing from living men, but are not gods, nor are they worshipped."¹⁵ Yet we have endless examples of prayers to and propitiation of Nature-spirits and ghosts. To Lord Avebury nothing is religious except a god, and a worshipped god. Where do the Saints come in? Therefore we have to ask, what is the definition of a "god," what is the definition of "worship," and can no being who is not worshipped be styled a "god"?

For my part, though I spoke of "high gods of low races" in *The Making of Religion* (1898) I am now very shy of the use of the word "god" in this connection,—as it seems to be unacceptable,—and I often prefer, following Mr. Howitt, to say, not "god" but "All Father." Nevertheless I firmly believe that the belief in the All Father is the germ of the

¹⁵ Avebury, p. 141.

belief in a God who receives worship, and more than the germ. In this, as in almost everything except two points, I follow Mr. Tylor,—“The figure of the supreme deity, be he Heaven-god, Sun-god, Great Spirit, beginning already in savage thought to take the form and function of a divine ruler of the world, represents a conception which it becomes the age-long work of systematic theology to develop and define.”¹⁶

On the other hand Mr. Howitt writes,—“it may be said that their beliefs,” (the beliefs of “these aborigines”) “are such that, under favourable conditions, they might have developed into an actual religion, based on the worship of Mungan-ngaua or Baiame.”¹⁷ Mr. Howitt manifestly thought that religion cannot exist without worship and that his tribes exhibit no worship.

Every man has his own definition, and I regard the belief in an All Father as *religious* in many cases. Thus I think that belief in, and obedience to the desires of, a creative being, dwelling above the heavens, is *religious*.

Mr. Spencer discovers and describes,¹⁸ among the Kaitish of Central Australia,—a people who, as far as he tells us, are uncontaminated by missionary teaching,—a being, Atnatu, who “made himself,” dwelling in other skies than ours, the Father of the Kaitish, who descend from rebellious sons of Atnatu. He sent them down to earth; he provided them with all that they have; he expects from them obedience to his injunctions in the affairs of the mysteries. This belief is religious, in my opinion.

Lord Avebury says (p. 153) that “in the absence, however, of prayers or thanksgiving, offerings or ceremonies, we may well doubt whether such a belief” (as I attribute to many Australian tribes) “really exists as a living faith.” Yet he knows from Mr. Spencer’s and Mr.

¹⁶ *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii., p. 355.

¹⁷ *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 507.

¹⁸ *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 498, 499.

Howitt's evidence that ceremonies are done in obedience to the supposed commands of Atnatu, Baiame, Mungan-gaua, Daramulun, and so on; while Baiame, we shall see, was "worshipped with songs" before any missionaries arrived among the worshippers. Why is this not "a living faith"?

If singing of hymns be a form of worship, Mrs. Langloh Parker publishes the hymn to Baiame.¹⁹ Like the Latin hymns of the Church in a rural congregation, the Baiame hymn is so old that it is now unintelligible to the singers. "No one now knew the meaning of the whole, not even the oldest *wirreenuns*." The same author mentions "the prayer of the oldest *wirreenun* to Byamee, asking him to let the blacks live long, for they have been faithful to his charge as shown by the observance of the Boorah ceremony" from which women and children are excluded.

The tribe believed in, and had a sense of awe for, and of dependence on, an All Father, Baiame, to whose decrees they conformed, to whom, on two occasions only, they prayed, and who received the souls of some of them, at least, unto his own place. Lord Avebury must be almost alone in his theory, if he denies that here we have religion. That Baiame is not a spirit, but a being *sui generis*, and that absurd myths are told of him, as of Zeus, does not destroy the religious nature of the belief in him, any more than the religious nature of the belief in Zeus is destroyed.

Mr. Howitt says "There is not any worship of Daramulun; but the dances round the figure of clay and the invoking of his name by the medicine-men certainly might have led up to it."²⁰ Now, if the Athenian maidens danced round an image of Artemis Brauronia, and invoked her name, I should call that "worship." Lord Avebury no doubt would not.

Mr. Howitt shows religious obedience to "that great Biamban" (Master) "whom you know about," among the

¹⁹ *The Euahlayi Tribe*, pp. 79, 80.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 507, 508.

Yuin. The name of the being is not taken in vain. Mr. Howitt spoke to Yuin friends of "that great one," (pointing upwards), "who ordered your fathers to hold the Kuringal, and to make your boys into men." "The men looked at it," (at the *mudthi* displayed to them by Mr. Howitt), "with every appearance of awe."²¹ If sacred awe of and obedience to "that great one above" be not religious, what is? Does Lord Avebury seriously deny that here we have religion?

Perhaps he does not quite deny it, for he now shifts his ground (p. 161). He takes up, if I follow his meaning, the old theory that anything which critics cannot easily deny to be *religion*, (such as the awe which the Yuin pay, and the obedience which they yield to "that great one" whose Name they scruple to utter), is borrowed from Christian missionaries, in Australia.

This theory I have disproved several times by arguments of which Lord Avebury takes no notice. For example, Lord Avebury quotes (p. 162), as to Baiame and the supposed attributes borrowed by him from missionaries, Mr. Tylor's criticisms.²² Now I proved, on Mr. Tylor's own evidence that Baiame was "worshipped with songs," (and worship is the essential thing with Lord Avebury), "when the missionaries first came to Wellington" (*circa* 1831).²³ In "The Theory of Loan Gods" in my *Magic and Religion*, I examined Mr. Tylor's arguments and evidence in full detail. Lord Avebury has overlooked my facts and arguments. Mr. Tylor, (whom Lord Avebury cites from Mr. Hartland), wrote "the evidence points rather, in my opinion, to Baiame being the missionary translation of the word Creator, used in Scripture lesson-books for God."²⁴ But as, by Mr. Tylor's own evidence, that of Mr. Hale (*circa* 1840-1842) quoting Mr. Threlkeld, a very early missionary, Baiame was in full force

²¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 517, 518.

²² *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute etc.*, vol. xli., p. 293, (1892).

²³ *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, vol. ii., p. 8, (1899).

²⁴ Avebury, p. 163.

in 1831, while his name appears in no Scripture lesson-book known to be earlier than the Rev. Mr. Ridley's *Gurri Kamilaroi*, 1856,—(my copy I gave to Mr. Tylor),—the ingenious conjecture of the great anthropologist is erroneous. Lord Avebury writes (p. 163),—"Mr. Lang may challenge (Mr. Tylor's) opinion as that of an anthropologist, however distinguished, whose theories a large part of his book is occupied with controverting." I don't "challenge,"—I prove my case. If Hale's mention of Baiame "in the year 1840" be "the earliest," his mention avers that Baiame was being worshipped when the missionaries arrived at Wellington. Consequently Baiame is not a word coined by a missionary in 1856.

As to my challenging Mr. Tylor's theories, my own are due to his great book, though mine are, in one or two points, modifications of those of our leader. The chief modification is this:—Like Mr. Howitt, and before Mr. Howitt, I saw and said that the superior being of most savage religions is not envisaged by his people as a "spirit," but simply as an anthropomorphic *wesen*. Thus his origin is not "animistic." Here I part company with Mr. Tylor. Secondly, I entirely agree with Mr. Tylor when he asks "Among low tribes who have been in contact with Christianity or Mohammedanism, how are we to tell to what extent, under this foreign influence, dim uncouth notions of divine supremacy may have been developed into more cultured forms or wholly foreign ideas have been planted?"²⁵

But I reply to the question, we must study each case critically by itself, remembering, in Mr. Tylor's words, "how closely allied are many ideas in the rude native theologies of savages to ideas holding an immemorial place in the religions of their civilised invaders."²⁶ I maintain that, when such ideas of savages are reported by laymen before the arrival of missionaries, and when absence of European

²⁵ *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii., p. 333.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 334.

influence is proved by Mr. Howitt, for example, while the presence of missionaries is demonstrated to produce absolutely no effect on the native beliefs, then the hypothesis of borrowing cannot be logically held. I do not doubt that here Mr. Tylor would agree with a self-obvious conclusion.

Lord Avebury writes,—(Mr. Lang's) "contention is that they" (the Australians), "or at least some tribes, believe in the existence of a deity named "Baïame," who is omniscient, omnipotent, immortal, beneficent, and to whom the blessed name of "All-father" can fitly be attributed."²⁷ As to "the blessed name of All Father" I adopt it from Mr. Howitt.²⁸ I prefer the word "All Father" to "deity" or "god" in these cases, for reasons already given; though I use both "deity" and "god" in works written before I saw the advantages of Mr. Howitt's term.

Next, as to my ascription of "omniscience," "omnipotence," and "immortality" to the superior beings of Australian tribes, and also the ascription of "creativeness," I explain²⁹ that I use the word "creative" where our evidence asserts that the All Father "made all things." Sometimes he only made the earth and sky and other trifles of that sort; some other things "came otherwise." In these cases I prefer to call the All Father "a maker of things, or of some things." Where I have said "omnipresent" and "omnipotent," I have pointed out that "this is only a modern metaphysical rendering of the actual words attributed" (by Mr. Howitt) "to the savage: 'He can go everywhere and do everything'."³⁰ I said "*with these explanations*" I trust that my rhetorical use of such phrases as 'eternal,' 'creative,' 'omniscient,' 'omnipotent,' 'omnipresent,' and 'moral' may not be found to mislead, or covertly to import modern or Christian ideas into my

²⁷ Avebury, p. 161.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 488-508.

²⁹ *Making of Religion*, pp. xix-xxii, (1900).

³⁰ *Making of Religion*, pp. xix-xiii, (1900).

account of the religious conceptions of savages." This I said in 1900; in 1911 Lord Avebury seems to be unaware of my explanation of my terms.

He next advances to the theory of attributes of Australian superior beings as borrowed from missionaries. But there is ample evidence, though Mr. Howitt's is enough, to such *unborrowed* aboriginal beliefs as that entertained by the Kurnai, who, when Mr. Howitt met them, had never seen a missionary. Later he met a converted Kurnai, but the man was not invited to, and knew nothing of the intention of the heathen Kurnai to hold, a *Jeracil*, or initiation-ceremony. Mr. Howitt offers "the reasons which appear to me to prove conclusively the aboriginal origin of the belief in the All-father as I have given it." The elements in the belief which I deem *religious* did not filter down to the isolated Kurnai from blacks in contact with Christian influences, and the Kurnai "did not attend the ceremonies of any other tribe."⁵¹ Lord Avebury never alludes to these facts of Mr. Howitt.

Moreover, says Mr. Howitt, in four tribes, Narrang-ga, Parnkalla, Dieri, and Arunta, "missionaries have long preached in the native tongue." The Narrang-ga and Parnkalla, and Dieri, are either extinct, or modernised. But the Arunta, a tribe whose southern section has energetic missionaries such as Mr. Strehlow, have no trace of an All Father in Mr. Spencer's region, and further south have only the shadow of the name of an All Father, known to the women.

Thus Mr. Howitt⁵² argues that missionaries have not lent to the natives of the South East the higher elements of their belief, while, where the Arunta are in contact with active missionaries preaching in the Arunta language, there is either no All Father, or a shadow of an All Father, held in no reverence.

Mr. Howitt's facts and logic are alike invincible. But

⁵¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 504-5.

⁵² *Op. cit.*, pp. 504-6.

when Lord Avebury, confronted with the higher and, (as I think), *religious* aspects of Australian belief, tries to escape by way of the old theory of borrowing from Christian sources, he overlooks Mr. Howitt's evidence, which is quite destructive of that theory in Mr. Howitt's region, and among the Arunta of Central Australia.

Lord Avebury quotes Mr. Tylor, who, in *Primitive Culture*,³³ declared that the theory of the borrowing of belief in "The Great Spirit" from missionaries "will not bear examination."

I am not disposed to go so far; I do not doubt that there are places in which European has contaminated savage belief. Again, it is an old error,—as Mr. Howitt followed me in saying,—to think that the Australian All Father is conceived of as a "spirit." But, in 1892, Mr. Tylor³⁴ argued, contrary to his previous opinion, that certain North American and other tribes borrowed "The Great Manitou," "The Great Spirit," from the Jesuits, and so on in certain other cases. Thus argued Mr. Tylor in 1892, but, in an edition of his *Primitive Culture* of the previous year (1891), he published, as in previous editions, the evidence for American All Fathers, (if I may not say gods), discovered and reported on *before the arrival of any missionaries*, and of such beings found *in situ* by the Jesuits on their arrival in America. There is Heriot's chief and creative being in 1586; there is Strachey's Ahone in 1612. According to Winslow (1622) the belief in an All Father, Kiehtan, maker of all other gods, and of man, was in New England an article of faith from unknown antiquity; Kiehtan was worshipped with feasts and songs and prayers. In 1633, Père Le Jeune, S.J., being asked by an Indian, "What is God?" answered "He made all things, heaven and earth." They then began to cry out to each other, "Atahocan! Atahocan! it is Atahocan."

³³ Vol. ii., pp. 339-40 (1873); Avebury, pp. 161, 162.

³⁴ *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute* etc., vol xxi., pp. 284-5.

As Mr. Tylor published this evidence in 1891, I do not, I admit, understand how, in 1892, he came to assert, in such measure as he did, the Theory of Borrowing. Borrowing may, and I doubt not does, occur in places, but we cannot invoke borrowing when the beliefs are found, (Mr. Tylor gives the evidence), prior to the arrival of missionaries; or are discovered in active existence by missionaries when they arrive. To these facts, which would be accepted in any Court of Justice, Mr. Tylor, as far as I am aware, has never replied, nor are they noticed by Lord Avebury.

Moreover, missionary beliefs, among the Arunta, Kaitish, and so on, do not crystallize round Atnatu of the Kaitish, or round the neglected All Father of the Southern Arunta, who are missionary-ridden. Here we have Lord Avebury's supposed cause of high elements in beliefs,—the missionaries,—without the alleged effect: as among the Kurnai we have the alleged effect without Lord Avebury's supposed cause,—the missionaries.

Thus it is certain, if we accept Mr. Howitt's authority, that the higher elements of Australian belief were not borrowed from missionaries, and, (see Mr. Hale), that Baiame, whatever his mythical eccentricities, was worshipped by tribes near Wellington before the date of first arrival of the missionaries.

If more facts and arguments are needed, (1) the women and children of Australian tribes were not allowed to know about the existence and attributes of the All Father, whatever his local name. Now, if the higher attributes were drawn from missionary teaching, the women and children would know as much about them as the Initiates. But they did not know. (2) If the higher attributes of the All Father were borrowed from pious Christians continually engaged in acts of public worship, the adults of the tribes ought to have borrowed the worship with the doctrines. But, according to Lord Avebury, the Australian All Father receives no worship. I am ashamed to say how often I

have published these and other arguments in refutation of the Theory of Borrowing, in the cases indicated. Perhaps my most complete statements are in "The Theory of Loan Gods," and the Appendix in *Magic and Religion*.

As to the death of Daramulun, in a Wiraijuri myth, as an argument against his immortality,³⁵ Lord Avebury seems to be unaware that, among the Wiraijuri, Daramulun is not the All Father, but a subordinate of his;—destroyed by him, in one myth; going strong in others.³⁶ The three diverse positions of Daramulun are these:—

1. Coast Murring. Daramulun is supreme.³⁷
2. Wiraijuri. Daramulun is a subordinate of Baiame, and, in one myth, Baiame punished him by extinction.³⁸
3. Kamilaroi. Daramulun is to Baiame what Apollo was to Zeus, a kind of "mediator." There seems to have been an overlap of tribal beliefs.

As to absence of worship, where the belief is unaccompanied by worship, I explain it³⁹ by reasons which Lord Avebury quotes.⁴⁰ Mr. Tylor gives the same reasons as myself in a quotation from Bowditch on the Yoruba.⁴¹ "No sacrifices are made to God" (Olorung, the Lord of Heaven) "because he needs nothing, but the Orisas" (minor beings) "being much like men, are pleased with offerings of sheep, pigeons, and other things." Mr. Tylor writes of "an unshaped divine entity . . . too benevolent or too exalted to need human worship . . . this is a mystic form of formlessness in which savage and barbaric tribes have not seldom pictured the Supreme."⁴²

Meanwhile, where such belief in what Mr. Tylor terms "the Supreme" exists, we constantly find that ancestral

³⁵ Avebury, p. 166.

³⁶ Cf. *Myth, Ritual, and Religion* (1899), vol. i., pp. xv-xvi, and evidence in note.

³⁷ *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute etc.*, vol. xiii., pp. 192-3.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. xxv., p. 298.

³⁹ *Making of Religion*, p. 281.

⁴⁰ Avebury, pp. 158-9.

⁴¹ *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii., p. 349.

⁴² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 336.

spirits and other minor beings receive both sacrifice and prayer. My book is full of evidence to this effect, and so is *Primitive Culture*. "Mr. Lang's theory seems most improbable," says Lord Avebury, "and can only be supported by the strongest evidence for the facts" (p. 160). The evidence is good enough for Mr. Tylor, and, if it is not good enough for Lord Avebury, he must criticise the testimony in each case. He says that there is contradiction and inconsistency in the statement that men "believe in a supernatural being but make no attempt to secure his protection and assistance." This is exactly the attitude of a Samoyede quoted by Mr. Abercromby,—“I cannot approach Num, he is too far away; if I could reach him I should not beseech *thee*” (a spirit to whom he is praying), “but should go myself, but I cannot.”⁴⁸

One main object of my *Making of Religion* was to show how very common in savage religion is this attitude,—how often we meet the highest,—may I say “god”?—who is not addressed in prayer. The importance of a religious conception so strange to the European mind is very great, and, as far as I am aware, (except by Mr. Tylor in *Primitive Culture*), the point had been universally neglected. But new examples of this creed keep pouring in from every quarter, and it is becoming impossible to ignore the evidence.

I am glad to take this opportunity of sheltering myself behind the tower-like shield of the Telemonian Aias, the author of *Primitive Culture*. My sole difference from him is inability to see that “the Supreme” of many savage religions is “animistic,” is spiritual; and in my opinion, (which I think he would not contest), the Theory of Borrowing in many cases is ineffectual,—in others there has certainly been borrowing.

Manifestly this controversy is caused, to a great extent, by the variety of definitions of words like “god,” “worship,” “religion,” “creator,” and so on. Thus Lord Avebury

⁴⁸ *The Pre- and Proto-historic Finns*, vol. i., p. 153.

quotes Mr. Eyre, *Expeditions into Central Australia*, vol. ii., pp. 355-358, to the effect that "the natives of New Holland, as far as yet can be ascertained, have no religious belief or ceremonies. A Deity, or great First Cause, can hardly be said to be acknowledged . . . by this people, who ascribe the creation to very inefficient causes. They state that some things called themselves into existence and had the property of creating others." I do not wonder that these metaphysicians were guilty of a bull! A thing must be in existence before it can "call itself into existence." Theirs is a way of trying to understand "The Great First Cause, itself least understood." I don't suppose that Mr. Eyre understood the problem any better than the blacks did.⁴⁴

Now I also quoted from the same pages of Mr. Eyre's book his discovery, among these very blacks, of Noorele "all powerful and of a benevolent character," who dwells with three unborn sons "up among the clouds." Noorele is credited with "the origin of creation"; "he made the earth, trees, water, etc." Yet, goes on Mr. Eyre, "a great First Cause can hardly be said to be acknowledged." I added "such are the consistent statements of Mr. Eyre." Lord Avebury omits the passages in Mr. Eyre's book which I cite. Mr. Eyre, of course, first reported, in his own terms, what the blacks told him in theirs,—that Noorele is "all powerful" (omnipotent) and "of a benevolent character," "made earth, trees, water, etc.," and then Mr. Eyre, reflecting on these views, added "a Deity, or great First Cause, can *hardly* be said to be acknowledged,"—obviously because he found no worship of the "benevolent all powerful maker of earth and sky." Lord Avebury prefers Mr. Eyre's reasonings (logical as they are). I prefer to look at Mr. Eyre's statements, and to exhibit the nature of his reasoning. I give both positive statements and reasonings.

We often meet examples of Mr. Eyre's kind of reasoning in works written before attempts were made to study savage

⁴⁴ Avebury, pp. 171-2.

religion scientifically. Thus Lord Avebury (p. 207) quotes Thevet (1558), who says of a Canadian tribe "as to their religion, they have no worship or prayer to God. . . . For the rest, they fully believe there is a Creator . . . who holds all in his power." Lord Avebury calls these "inconsistent, and contradictory statements; belief in a Great Spirit, but not in a God; belief in a supernatural being, but no attempt to secure his protection and assistance" (p. 207). Now Thevet, as quoted, says nothing of a "Great Spirit"; he avoids "that misleading error" as Mr. Howitt terms it. My *Making of Religion* made an effort to clear that error out of our studies, except, of course, in any instances where an uncontaminated people describes its superior being as a "spirit." The term "Great Spirit" is almost always an European blunder.

To conclude, it is a curious fact that Lord Avebury, for all that I can see, might easily agree with Mr. Tylor and myself, on the points where we hold the same opinions. Lord Avebury writes (p. 154),—"If he," (the savage) "is asked, or if he asks himself, who made the world, it is a simple explanation, however unsupported by evidence, that his ancestor or some other mysterious being did so; and then we are told that he believes in an all-powerful Creator!" Well, a mysterious being who made the world *is* a Creator, of no limited power. To make the world is "a large order."

But let us take the case as Lord Avebury puts it,—it is my own case; as far as I can make a conjecture. I wrote (*Making of Religion*, p. x, 1900),—"As soon as man had the idea of 'making' things, he might conjecture as to a Maker of things which he himself had not made, and could not make. He would regard this unknown Maker as 'a magnified non-natural man' . . . This conception of a magnified non-natural man, who is a Maker, being given; his Power would be recognised, and fancy would clothe one who had made such useful things with certain other moral

attributes, as of Fatherhood, goodness, and regard for the ethics of his children; these ethics having been developed naturally in the evolution of social life. In all this there is nothing . . . as far as I can see, beyond the limited mental powers of any beings that deserve to be called human." This is only a guess, but, at all events, any savage who once conceived of a maker of the world would find his conception about a being so powerful expanding in the sense in which the All Father is undeniably envisaged by many tribes; and again, the conception would fade with the rise of a vast theory of animism, and of evolution, as among the Northern Arunta.

The earlier part of my book *The Making of Religion* was devoted to a study of certain world-wide beliefs, found in all ages and degrees of culture, compared with certain contemporary evidence as to abnormal and supernormal experiences. Why anthropologists,—except Bastian in his *Ueber psychische Beobachtungen bei Naturvölkern* (1900),—should bury their heads in the sand and be blind themselves to the existence of so large a field of research and comparison, I have never been able to understand. Lord Avebury writes,—“if I were to despair it would be to see some of our ablest intellects still clinging to the most childish superstitions of the darkest ages and the lowest savages.” Well, very low savages appear to have some practical knowledge of hypnotism and of crystal-gazing. But these things are facts. There is such a thing as hypnotic influence; hallucinations can be induced, in a percentage of educated, civilised persons, by crystal-gazing. Why should Lord Avebury be inclined to despair because we investigate human faculties? As M. van Gennep says, “it is unscientific to deny that certain persons can find water-springs by aid of the divining rod (*baguette*) merely because we cannot explain the phenomenon.”⁴⁵ It is much too late to dismiss facts by giving them a bad name as “superstitions.”

A. LANG.

⁴⁵ *Religions, Mœurs et Légendes*, vol. iii., p. 45.

SOME MATRIMONIAL PROBLEMS OF THE WESTERN BORDER OF INDIA.

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THE purpose of this paper is to describe briefly a social system quite dissimilar to our own, and then to show some of the difficulties and problems that arise out of it. We consider our customs, which are the result of the evolution of centuries, as nearly perfect as possible. But a Punjabi man would denounce them as imperfect, and even a Punjabi woman, who, as we shall see, is in a state of subjection, would strongly object to any system which was likely to leave her unmarried for any length of time after she was grown up.

Perhaps the best way of gaining an idea of Punjabi conditions is to call up what one has read of Old Testament life, and of the people and times for which Moses and Hammurabi legislated. But it is also necessary to lay stress on one preliminary point. I do not speak of India; I have no right to speak of the Punjab Province of India; I am not ready to describe all the races and clans of the Western Punjab; I merely venture to set before you a few facts and deductions concerning certain tribes, all Muhammedans by religion, who live in the Western Punjab and on the borders of the Indian Empire. It seems most important to me that no one from India should give the impression that he has any right to speak of India as a whole. Only globe-trotters

on six-week tours can do that. For instance, one such tourist, lecturing on India not long ago, said, among other things, that the English mind dealt with the earth that was as a rule earthy; the Indian mind was precisely the opposite, for it was an intellectual and philosophical mind, and dealt with things of the spirit. Well, this may be the opinion of one who, not knowing the languages of the different Indias, had conversed for six weeks with a few educated Indians, mainly Hindus, generally Brahmins, and mostly Bengalis, but I cannot accept it. To me there are spiritually-minded persons in both England and India, and earthy persons in both England and India, and my paper concerns the earth and pure prose, not poetry or fiction.

There are many nations in India, and there are also many matrimonial systems in India. There are systems which give a lady five husbands, if the joint family estate does not allow for more than one batch of children. There are systems which give her a fiftieth part of a husband, and she may consider herself lucky to be born under such a system and not under one which, starting from exactly the same social structure, ends in the destruction of many female children at birth. But I confine myself to the Muhammedan Pathans, Balochis, and Jats of the Western border, and, perhaps, to prevent the disclaimer already made from going too far, I may say that at least a population as large as that of greater London lives, more or less, under the conditions to which I will refer.

Firstly, there is a marked deficiency of the fairer sex. The districts in which they live are arid, and the domestic burdens that fall upon the women of all ages are very severe. I have been in places where the women have to go five miles each way daily to fetch the water for the day's consumption. Apart from this, the work which their lords consent to do is strictly defined, and those especially who are graziers live placid lives, playing panpipes among the flocks, and not doing much to relieve their womenfolk of toil. It follows

from this deficiency that women are of great value for what is, after all, the main object of mankind's existence, the important sphere of marriage. Now, the Balochis, Pathans, and Jats do not live in the age of civilisation such as we have here, but as strong men armed on the Border, and, till recently, in the Punjab. Men as potential warriors have obtained a predominance, unnatural to our mind, over the other sex. It is sad that the strength that can be put forward to arrest suffragettes can elsewhere be used to dominate over women to the extent of giving absolute power of control over them to their menfolk. It follows that young ladies are never allowed to have a say in their own disposal. They are valued, and no stranger can take an article of value from a person in possession without providing some form of recompense. When, again, he has succeeded in obtaining possession, he is entitled to compensation for any transfer to another, and when he dies his heirs continue to retain possession. In other words, an unmarried girl is disposed of by her father, brother, uncle, cousin, or nearest male relative,—a married woman by her husband on divorce, and a widow by her husband's brother or nearest relation; and, since the number of women is less than that of men, the value of the former becomes appreciated, and, like all values of importance, can be translated into other terms, that is to say, no girl will be handed over by her father except for cash, an exchange, or, as in the case of a property-less person like Jacob, for services rendered.

It is true that, just as in the case of idolatry, the more refined will talk of symbolical representation, the crude act of a father who takes cash from his son-in-law before giving his daughter in marriage being spoken of as a recompense for the toil and burden of her upbringing. This system also leads to a large number of cousin marriages and interbreeding to an extent which, if some English savants are to be believed, ought to have exterminated the tribes. As matrimony is an expensive thing, and families should stick

together, young men are given the first right to claim their girl cousins free or at an economical rate.

So much as regards the maidens. As to a married woman, there is a nearer parallel to England. If she elopes, the partner in her elopement has frequently to pay damages in the divorce court to the aggrieved husband. The difference on the western Border is that the husband will take damages in advance and give a divorce by consent. As to widows, the position is the absolute inversion of the levirate custom. In that the widow had a right to claim the nearest male relative of her husband. With these people it is the nearest male relative who has the right to claim the widow, whom he can either marry or dispose of. To sum up, the situation among the rude people to whom I refer is that no one allows a female relative over whom by tribal law he has authority to pass from his authority, except for some form of value received. But, as in England various problems arise in connection with the social system, so they arise out of the system to which I refer. The facts already stated may seem simple, but events occur to make them complex. There have been problems in the relations of men and women in all societies from the time that Deuteronomy was written, and before, and my purpose is to present to you examples of some of these problems.

I may, perhaps, explain that the settlement of matrimonial disputes occupies a large share of the time of officials in the Punjab, and that unsettled matters of this kind bring in their train murders, assaults, arsons, rick-burning, etc., and the heat engendered by one crime may continue for generations. It is not, therefore, astonishing that the matter has been of interest to me ever since the days when, as a very young Assistant Commissioner, I nearly sentenced an unlucky wight to imprisonment for abduction of a married lady. This is not a criminal offence here, but in a country where men are more violent in their manners, the silver ointment of the divorce court is not

always considered sufficient to salve a wound, and the hero of a romance can be cast into prison for two years. It may seem hard, but it saves murders. It was one of these cases that I was trying, and, as I have said, it nearly ended in a miscarriage of justice. The accused declared that he had married the fair object of dispute with the consent of her uncle, and denied that she had been married before. The complainant, however, brought a parish priest and several other witnesses, who maintained on oath that a previous marriage to himself had been solemnized with pomp a year before in the presence of the whole village. In the absence of a system of marriage registration, the evidence appeared conclusive. Fortunately for myself and the accused, I discovered that I was bound to tour through this particular village very shortly, and, on a sound principle of never deciding till the latest possible minute, I kept the case over till I went there. Now, among Pathans of the Attock district all men are liars, but still men are not such great liars in their own village as they are in the precincts of a law court. The truth came out, therefore, and was found to be as follows:—There had been no previous marriage, and the parish priest and the rest of them were all liars. The alleged husband and the witnesses were hireling knaves put forward by the second uncle of the young lady concerned. On the death of her father her eldest uncle had married her mother, and brought the little girl up to a marriageable age, and had obtained in recompense for his trouble in doing so ten pounds from her chosen spouse, the accused before me. The second uncle had turned up with a demand to share and share alike. His argument, put crudely, was that he was a co-sharer in the property left by his deceased brother, that the girl was property valued at ten pounds, and that he was there to receive five pounds. The other man replied that during all the years of the minority of the child he had had to keep her without assistance from his brother, and that therefore

it was for him to draw the profits. "On the contrary," came the answer, "you took possession of the widow, and looking after the daughter was part of the pleasure of looking after the mother. Pay up, please." The elder brother refused, and, as a Pathan is most tenacious of anything he considers his right, the younger man, to get a bit of his own back, suborned all the witnesses, hired a bridegroom, and produced a parish priest. Witnesses, as you will have gathered, are not expensive.

Thus it will be seen that people adhere with great tenacity to their supposed rights. Laban would have been furious had he been obliged to part with his daughters without receiving their equivalent in labour or cash. Moses, too, laid down a penalty of fifty shekels for an unauthorized elopement. Our law in India rightly refuses to acknowledge these transactions, and many are the subterfuges employed to get what men think should be their due. On the Border, however, where we have not full right of interference, and mainly confine ourselves to keeping deaths from violence at as low a figure as possible, there is more adjustment in accordance with tribal ideas, and with the aid of the tribal leaders,—the elders that sit in the gate, of whom we read in the case of Boaz and Ruth. But it must not be considered that, because a guardian requires compensation for the loss of a young lady in his charge, he does not retain his own ideas as to who is, and who is not, suitable for marriage with his ward. If he is lax on this subject, his relatives, and the chiefs and elders of the tribe, will soon let him know of his shortcomings. Some of the hottest disputes I have heard of have been over matters of this kind. Where strength and valour are of consideration as factors in the position of a tribe as a whole, intermarriage with menials is strongly deprecated, and a tribesman is expected to form an alliance which will lead to a good continuation of the breed. To take a concrete case,—a wandering group of Sweepers, men of the lowest type, pitched their tents of rags

and mats within the location of a certain Border tribe, and encamped there for a considerable time. One of the Sweepers proceeded to sell his wife to a tribesman named Kalu for £9 6s. 8d. Kalu kept her with him during the period of *iddat* (i.e., the period during which re-marriage is illegal according to Muhammedan law), but, when the time for a formal marriage drew near, he thought he saw the chance of a deal, and accordingly exchanged her as a relation of his own with a minor girl of another tribe. The father of the minor, however, had calculated on his relatives' objections, and his cousins intervened to stop the girl from going out of the tribe, and prevented ratification of the betrothal. Kalu was full of indignation, and demanded compensation. The minor's father, acknowledging the justice of the claim, through a local headman offered to compromise for £13 6s. 8d. This sum would have given our friend Kalu a clear profit of four pounds, but he was not to be fobbed off with less than the market price of girls of the other tribe, and he clamoured to the defaulter's chief for £20, the prevailing rate. This was his undoing. The chief made certain enquiries, and on discovery of the base origin of the first woman insisted on her return to her own people. Kalu, thus deprived of both the women and his profit, returned to demand justice from his own chief, within whose territories the Sweepers were still living. He claimed that they should refund his money, and suffer punishment for deception. Here, too, he met with no sympathy; for the chief, looking to the small sum paid by Kalu, held that he could not have been deceived, and, further, like the chief of the other tribe, he would not allow members of his tribe to demean themselves by consorting with menials. Thus, while the right of disposal by relatives was freely admitted, and compensation for breach of betrothal was also accepted, alienation from the tribe was hotly resisted, and intermarriage with menials interfered with by superior authority. The end of the matter was that Kalu lost £9 6s. 8d., and had a lesson

in the social laws that govern the society in which he had been placed.

Another subject that leads frequently to difficulties is that of exchanges. If a man requires a lady's hand in marriage, it may not be convenient for him to pay to the father a cash compensation. He may have, however, a sister, aunt, niece, or cousin under his control to exchange for the darling of his heart. Sometimes matters are arranged by a long series of exchanges. A gives to B, who gives to C, who gives to D, who gives to A. Occasionally something goes wrong with the chain. A betrothed girl dies, and much pow-wow and argumentation arise before the matter is readjusted to the satisfaction of the parties. But it will be readily seen that all young ladies are not of the same value. Apart from the mere trifling question of beauty, there is the question of age, for it is obvious that the damsel ready for matrimony is of more value than a little girl betrothed to be married to a little boy when the pair grow up. It therefore happens that exchanges are balanced with additional cash, or, if the position requires it, with a second girl. Now this leads on to great niceties, and occasionally to trouble. Thus, a Biloch of my acquaintance, one Brahim, arranged to exchange his daughter, of a marriageable age, for two girls yet to grow up, daughters of Nibahu. Formal betrothals were made and completed, and the time was coming for Brahim's daughter to be handed over when one of the little children of Nibahu died. At once old Brahim, whom I know in the flesh as a most truculent and obstinate old ruffian, demanded from Nibahu that he should substitute another girl for the deceased. The latter refused, saying that the betrothal of the two girls completed the transaction, and that it was practically Brahim's girl who had died. Brahim, on the other hand, held that his live daughter was worth two live exchanges, and he was going to get his two before he would give up his one. Nibahu and Brahim argued and wrangled over this for years, and Brahim's poor daughter,

already at the mature age of sixteen when the wrangle began, saw herself reach the shelving age of twenty and was still not sent to her mate. She lived to be twenty-five, and nothing happened. As her age drew near to thirty, she began to think she had a right to move in the matter herself, and began a series of clandestine meetings with one Chakur. These things are not easy to conceal in an Eastern village, and there came a day when, to escape with her life from the vengeance of her irate sire, she had to take refuge with the chief of the tribe. This was now a matter that required official interference, because the old ruffian would certainly have destroyed his erring daughter, had he got hold of her, and would have felt himself quite justified in doing so. It is indeed something that we have got to the stage of the chief assisting in adjusting such quarrels without bloodshed. In their hearts many chiefs would like to let Brahim deal faithfully with his daughter. However, the matter was settled by a council of elders, who broke off the Brahim-Nibahu betrothals altogether, fined Chakur a smart sum for his conduct, and ordered the old man to marry off his daughter within two months to any of the tribe except a man of Chakur's clan. It was especially laid down that she was not to marry Chakur, which is very contrary to our own ideas. The Biloch idea in this case ran that, however much compensation Chakur might pay, Brahim could not bear to see him married to the girl after he had wronged, not the girl as we should think, but her father. I think I have mentioned that there are those who gloss over these transactions with finer words, and the council of elders merely mentioned that her marriage must be arranged. Before giving their decision the impress of authority, it was necessary for me to hear all parties. Chakur protested strongly that he had made his private bargain with the old man to keep his inamorata in exchange for his sister now and the prospective chance of any two daughters his wife and he might have, but this was denied and overruled. The old man, who I have already

said was a crude and horrid old man, instead of using euphemistic words as to her matrimonial arrangements, replied to my query as to what was to happen to her,—“I shall sell her elsewhere.” I have said that he was a horrid old man, and disclaim any responsibility for his conduct. I could only hope that she would have a happier life once away from him, and, as he was a trans-border man, I had no authority to say more. The proceedings before me had saved her life, and that was much.

Now it has been found advisable to leave the decision of the matrimonial disputes, in the districts where exist “the elders that sit in the gate,” to such leading men, but their decisions, not based on legal forms, are apt to miscarry. For instance, it was decided that, in consequence of some wrong done, Suleiman should arrange to give Taggia a girl in marriage, or, if he could not do so, pay £25 in default. Now it so happened that Taggia had seen a nice young girl whom he wished to marry and whom he had ascertained from her father would not cost him more than the sum mentioned. He therefore set about to disapprove of and cast aspersions against all the girls produced by Suleiman, who, poor fellow, went as far as from here to Aberdeen to produce satisfactory brides. The matter came eventually within my ken, and, when I left, Taggia was still unmarried and had not, so far, committed any murder. The case, however, was unsettled, and it shows a problem that may arise.

I will now turn to the problem of appropriation by relations. The Bible is so much read from the point of view of religion, doctrine, and morals that its importance as a study of comparative sociology is frequently not appreciated. The case of the daughters of Zelophehad, of the family of Gilead, of the tribe of Manasseh, is one of great interest.¹ These girls went to Moses, and obtained from him a decision that daughters were to inherit in cases where a man died sonless. Later on the elders of their

¹ *Numbers*, cap. xxvii., v. 1-11; cap. xxxvi.

family took alarm at the possibility of property belonging to the tribe going elsewhere when these girls married, and it was decided that they were to have freedom of choice and marry whom they thought best, but that they must marry within their own family. In the end there does not seem to have been very much choice, for we read that "Mahlah, Tirzah, and Hoglah, and Milcah, and Noah, the daughters of Zelophehad, were married unto their father's brother's sons, . . . and their inheritance remained in the tribe of the family of their father." This instance is constantly paralleled in the districts to which I refer. Many tribesmen, as is natural with people who hold that women are themselves a form of property, refuse to admit that women can themselves hold property, and others, while permitting a widow to retain her husband's share, or daughters to hold to their father's inheritance like the daughters of Zelophehad, take it away from them promptly on marriage or re-marriage.

These follow their own customs, though nominally Muhammedans in other respects. But others have been prevailed upon to stick to the law of their own religion, and with them women have the rights of inheritance in varying proportion. Here again, as in the case of the family of Gilead, this leads to male relatives resenting the chance of the land going elsewhere, and curing the difficulty by marrying their near relations themselves. This practice, as I have already said, is also due to the fact that cousins have to pay a less sum, or nothing, to the guardians of the girls. But difficulties arise in this apparently straightforward matter. Young ladies left orphans frequently have many relations, and it is difficult for them, if of more or less the same status, to adjust the matter between them. In the case of horses or cows settlement may be arrived at by each owning a leg or two in proportion to their rights, which means that each keeps the animal for a greater or less period, but the tribesmen to whom I refer at least have the virtue of objecting to polyandry. So troubles arise in this

matter also. To give a concrete case,—in one family whose matrimonial difficulties came to my notice, there were four brothers. The eldest died, leaving two sons, and the second died, leaving a widow and two daughters. The widow was married almost at once to the fourth brother, so they can be eliminated from our discussion. We are thus left with one uncle, Bahadur, two brothers Kabul and Umar, and two sisters, Sohagan and Sahib. In other words, two marriageable young ladies and three possible claimants. You can see that here at once are the makings of trouble, and, as a matter of fact, there was a great deal of trouble. The uncle, being older and stronger than his nephews, who were aged 18 and 16, thought that he would settle matters his own way. He could not, of course, marry his niece Sohagan, aged 15, but he could and did exchange her for the daughter of one Shadi. He tried to placate Kabul by betrothing him to Sahib, then aged ten only, and left Umar out of count as a youngster. This was all right for the uncle, but the nephews objected strongly. They argued that two boys and two girls should form two pairs, and that, as children of the elder brother, they had a prior right over the younger brother. Both were quite grown lads, as the East understands these things, and, while Umar objected to getting no bride at all, Kabul disliked having to wait and watch a child grow old enough to change betrothal into marriage, instead of being able to marry the fifteen-year-old Sohagan at once. They also had the further objection against their cousin going out of the family. In these tribes, and in many throughout India, Persia, and Arabia, cousins marry cousins without much apparent effect on the breed. Abraham married his half-sister, Isaac his cousin, and Jacob cousins doubly linked with himself, and yet the Israelites must have been a fine nation at one time. Then, again, Sohagan was disappointed at having to marry a man old enough to be her father, instead of the young cousin she knew so well. The best way, think our uncivilized friends,

to settle disputes is the shortest, and after Bahadur's own marriage had been solemnized with Shadi's daughter, (as his second wife, by the bye), Shadi was put out of the way by murder on the eve of his marriage with Sohagan. Both Kabul and Umar were tried by a tribunal applicable to the Border areas before my predecessor. Kabul was acquitted by the council of elders, and Umar, aged sixteen, was sentenced to a long term of transportation. Kabul celebrated his release by taking Sohagan and eloping with her across the river Indus. He had formally to renounce his alliance with Sahib. [Jews after the time of Jacob, and Muhammedans, alike have the prohibition against marrying a second sister during the lifetime of a first.]

Now you can see that Bahadur made a muddle of his settlement of the question. He has a wife now, and so has Kabul, but one man is dead, and Umar is in jail. Besides,—and here comes the point in accordance with tribal usages,—Shadi is dead, but his family is not. Shadi parted with a young lady of his family, and made her a portion of the family of Bahadur, but no young lady of Bahadur's family has joined that of Shadi. The mere death of Shadi does not abate the claim of his relations. If Shadi himself is dead, he has other relatives to receive a recompense in marriage. Bahadur tried to shift the onus on to Kabul, who had taken Sohagan, but Shadi's family said that was no concern of theirs. It was he who had married their girl, and it was he who must effect the settlement. Bahadur thought the position was very hard on him. He had one wife, and would not have gone to the expense of a second one, had he not got her on a simple exchange. Besides, he might have taken the widow instead of his giving her to his fourth brother, if he had known of this pow-wow. There was all the makings of a fresh set of murders, and so intervention by authority was necessitated. The council of elders convened by me as arbitrators settled matters by arranging the marriage of

Sahib to one of the small male relatives of Shadi. It was not a perfect solution, because Umar will come out of jail some day, and, unless placated, will not be deterred by his imprisonment from further violence, if he thinks he has been wronged. However, fourteen years is a long time, and it is something to have kept down murders for the present.

I must make quite clear again before I go further, that even on the Border we do not do more than assist in arriving at a settlement by consent, and that in the Punjab proper we do not uphold these assumed rights of man in any way. A very large portion of the litigation and crime in the Punjab is due to this refusal of ours to uphold the customs of the people in this respect. If a daughter elopes to the equivalent of Gretna Green, we refuse to follow Moses' example and pass a decree for fifty shekels in favour of the father against the husband. Similarly, we do not uphold the right of a man to marry his brother's widow whether she wishes it or not. Moreover, the customs of these tribes who are nominally Muhammedans frequently clash with the Muhammedan law. Custom ordains with some tribes that a widow should simply pass on into her husband's brother's possession with the rest of the property of the deceased. Muhammedan law has enjoined the *iddat*, a period of three months and ten days, during which re-marriage is illegal after the death of a husband, or after divorce. Consequently, a recalcitrant woman who wishes to run counter to all the traditions of her race may refuse to pass on to her brother-in-law, and our courts in the Punjab will support her, unless the brother-in-law can prove a formal marriage after the period of *iddat* has elapsed. My hearers will have no doubt that the Government is right in taking this attitude, but what I have to point out is that, wherever law clashes with custom, a community is liable to take other steps to get the better of that law which in its eye is an unfair one. Hence

we find that in the Punjab there are many ways of dealing with a contumacious sister-in-law. She may be harassed with a complaint of stealing jewellery, or her father, brothers, and cousins may be charged with riot, assault, mischief, and several other offences in connection with the occasion when the brother-in-law went to them to ask for her, and was told in the politest of polite vernaculars to get out. These cases may not be successful, but they swell the volume of crime, real or alleged, of the province. The contingency of the brother-in-law in his rage cutting the lady's nose off, or addressing her uncle or father or lover with a hatchet, is one which is always possible. I will give a concrete example of a somewhat amusing type of an instance of the clashing between custom and Muhammedan law.

One Hassu, husband already of a lady named Khanzadi, ("the chieftain's daughter"), fell in love with another fair one, Bakthbhari ("full of fortune"). The latter was already, unfortunately, the wife of Allah Baksh ("the gift of god"), but the smiles of Hassu prevailed, and the pair skipped across the river and remained quiet for a time. Later on, Hassu, thinking the lady worth the price, paid thirty pounds of our money, and arranged that her husband should divorce her. Directly this was done he foolishly returned to his village. By custom he had paid his price and had secured his article. But by Muhammedan law the period of *iddat* had to intervene, and, before the three months and ten days could elapse, further complications ensued. Either the lady had got bored with Hassu during the period of honeymoon and exile, and there was another suitor in the offing, or her relatives stirred her up with the argument that the man who could pay thirty pounds to the husband might surely be squeezed to the extent of a tenner or so in aid of the family fortunes. Anyway, before the three months expired, she retired to her mother's house. Consider now the position of Hassu. He had paid thirty

pounds for Bakthbhari, and there was the lady happily returned to the bosom of her family. Legally he could do nothing. He was not married to her, and so could not sue for restitution of conjugal rights, nor could he run in any handsome young suspect. He was legally helpless, but, as custom was on his side, he was not daunted. He arranged with his first wife Khanzadi to act for him, and she responded manfully with a petition in a criminal court of riot and assault against thirteen persons. She stated that seven ladies of Bakthbhari's family had met her, pulled her hair, disarranged her bonnet, and otherwise maltreated her in true feminine manner, and that, when she protested, several male relatives of the same woman had bundled her home in the most brutal and pushing manner. The case seems inconceivable to English spectacles, but let us remember that English law is comparatively definite and sufficiently binding to make custom so strong that no one can protest. However, Hassu managed to harass thirteen persons into a court, and, though it is regrettable to say that the other side held out and no settlement was arrived at, he helped to discourage future generations of widows from striking out independent lines for themselves. My readers will perhaps at once seize on the curiosity of the fact of a wife aiding a husband to obtain a co-wife and a rival, but here again Eastern and Western ideas are in conflict. The Western lady is above all ornamental. The Eastern has to be useful or explain the reason why, and there are many relaxations for an elderly woman if a young co-wife can be found to do the drudgery for her.

My object, however, is to show how the refusal of authority to acknowledge ancient customs, however wrong in our eyes, leads to an increase of different forms of crime. Apart from the riot case, which thus came to nothing, further time had to be spent by the courts in binding over the parties concerned to keep the peace, because Hassu might have soothed his angry feelings with a shrewd

blow on Bakthbhari's jaws, or she might have invited him to a reconciliatory banquet at which arsenic might have played a part.

However, although the custom obtains no legal support, it is impossible to prohibit a young man from giving pecuniary gratification to his would-be father-in-law, or a husband from accepting an inducement to give up his wife in a land where divorce is simple and easy. The difficulty of checking this kind of practice leads to difficulty in interfering with more disreputable conduct. Anything in the form of kidnapping or abduction is suppressed, if detected, as sternly as infanticide or suttee, or other practices which India would gladly re-introduce if left alone.

It is a regrettable fact that in the Punjab there is still a regular flow of women, married and unmarried, adult and minor, into areas where the supply is insufficient. The women remain, and cash is taken away, and this disreputable traffic is called by the terrible name of slave-dealing by the police. A number of sections in the Indian Penal Code are directed against it, and altogether the majesty of the law is "up agin it." Like smuggling and bribery, however, it is difficult to suppress, because all the parties concerned are, or consider themselves to be, gainers. The purchaser obtains for a moderate price that which is scarce or dear in the local market, and so he is content; the seller gets his money, and he is content; and the woman is content enough because she is usually disposed of above her previous station. Hence it is not easy to stop unless, as in the parallel cases of smuggling or bribery, something happens to annoy one or other party to the bargain. As a typical instance, I may give an account of a butcher's wife who left her home in the eastern districts with a Jat Sikh on a tour of discovery. Once in the Western Punjab he broke it to her that she might find a happy permanent home in a well-to-do household if she agreed. She had no objections, and, with the aid of a cattle thief with whom the

Sikh had connections on the cattle-passing side, she was disposed of to a yeoman farmer in what the latter took to be lawful wedlock. Twenty pounds formed the pleasant sum which the Sikh took back with him. The farmer decked his spouse out with the ornaments and finery befitting her station, and she lived happily with him for some months. She appears, however, to have kept up correspondence with her friends, and it happened that another Jat Sikh from her part of the world, travelling with a Sweeper girl, from whom he also was prepared to part if inducements offered, brought a message to the cattle thief aforesaid. This message ran,—“Please give to bearer the article in deposit with you.” The deposit not being there, he was sent on to the farmer’s house, where he and his lady friend passed themselves off as friends of the housewife. They were received hospitably, and entertained for two days. The third day is proverbially the day for guests to depart, and they did so, but in the night and taking the woman with them. She also took with her the nice ornaments given by the farmer. The latter was a man of substance, and on discovering his loss pursued hotly. The deceitful fair was tracked from place to place, until she was found in the Central Punjab happy and contented in the house of one of her own butcher caste, not her original husband. The proverb goes, “Like mates with like, the hawk with the hawk, the pigeon with the pigeon,” and the stoutest farmer is not to the butcher’s daughter the same as a butcher of sheep and goats. Nothing is more curious here than the quiet manner of acquiescence in the inevitable, and she returned without demur to the man who, she admitted, had the best right to her.

Now, here we have a case in which the executive officer and the police authorities would clearly demand that several persons should end in jail as a result of their nefarious actions. What offences, however, will the lawyers admit to have occurred? The original Jat Sikh might have been

run in for abduction, but this could only be on the complaint of the original husband, who had not yet heard of his wife's whereabouts. The accusation of kidnapping was bound to fail, as the woman was of mature age and also a willing party. No charge of cheating could lie where a man takes his chance in bargaining with an outsider. As to the lady's disappearance from him, the farmer did not want to have her punished for stealing his jewellery because she had returned to him. Moreover, ornaments presented to a woman become hers, and it is hard to punish a woman for going away wearing her own property. The second set of wicked people equally get off scatheless. The lady returned with them, no doubt, but of her own will, and to go to the home to which she really belonged. If she did not reach it, that was her fault, not theirs. No charge of stealing or receiving stolen property could lie where, as has been seen, the ownership of the jewels probably rested with the woman. Thus, even in a case in which a woman is abducted, sold, and re-abducted, it may well happen that no one becomes entangled in the meshes of the law. Theft is always hard to check, but, when the thing stolen is a sentient being and is willing to be stolen, to be sold by the thief, to remain with the purchaser, to be stolen again by another thief, and to return to the purchaser if he proves his power to recover, it is difficult to know how to tackle the problem.

There is a well-known story of a Highland shepherd who sold his dog to an American, but repented of the bargain when he heard of its destination. Till then he had always found that the dog would return to him. So, too, it is a common trick of cattle thieves in the Punjab to sell a man a bullock, and to remove it from him after a respectable interval. When it comes, however, to a position in which woman's wiles are added to the wits of the thieves, all that can be said is "caveat emptor."

To revert again to an account of tribal justice across the

Border,—one Gamu cast eyes at the wife of Mitha Khan ("the Sweet Lord"), and deflected her from the path of strict virtue. This was a matter which caused Mitha to cry out for justice, and the sense of the tribe decided that Gamu should give Mitha Khan his sister and pay a fine of £13 6s. 8d. in compensation for his victim's wounded feelings. When the award was duly complied with, his love was to be his for ever, but meanwhile, pending adjustment, she was sent back to the house of her husband, who no longer wished to dye his hands in her blood. The marriage of the sister presented no difficulties, but the raising of the fine did, and Gamu was sore troubled. After some time he collected £10 13s. 4d., and handed this sum over to Mitha Khan. He then suggested that the lady might be made over to him, and the trifling balance adjusted later. But Mitha was perfectly happy with his two wives, and in no hurry to part with one. He merely smiled, and professed his willingness to do the right thing the very moment his full tale of cash was received. It was the turn then of poor Gamu to search for justice. But the chiefs and the elders would not help him. Alas! wherever he went he was told that a bargain was a bargain, and that he must find the extra £2 13s. 4d. before the transaction could be considered a complete one. The £2 13s. 4d., small as it seems to us, was a large sum to Gamu; and for some time longer he had the mortification of seeing Mitha Khan flush of cash and in control of his dual household. Verily, the way of transgressors is hard!

As I have suggested, the simple fact of a parent not letting his daughter leave the ancestral home except for a solatium to the old man's grief at parting with her, leads on to all sorts of other claims, some admitted and some refused. It led in one case to a stepson claiming disposal of his half-sister in preference to the mother who bore her. The mother would have admitted the preferential right of her own son, but objected to the claim of her stepson. He

had, however, the unanswerable reply from the tribal point of view that he, and he alone, was heir to the landed property of her late lamented husband, and with the land go all other appurtenances.

The most powerful and dramatic instance of rude men's claims that the men of the household alone have the right to dispose of their female relations in marriage that has come to my notice is one in the trans-Border Zakka Khels, Pathans who are not under our rule, though we occasionally have to chastise them for misdemeanours. There was once a Zakka Khel, Nur Mahommed, who took to himself a wife and had a small son Musa. While this son was yet an infant, Nur Mahommed was murdered by his brother Ahmed, who, naturally, took his brother's widow to wife. Ahmed only enjoyed his wedded happiness for a year or two, for he was murdered by one Palya, who also seized what he could of Ahmed's goods, including his widow. The marriage was solemnized with the proper rites of Muhammedan law, and they would have lived happily ever after but for the fact that the erstwhile infant Musa grew to the age of sixteen. On arrival at man's estate, when a lad puts on turban and trousers instead of running about with bare locks and a loincloth, and is entitled to be killed in any raid, and to kill, Musa squared up to his stepfather and demanded from him £24, the price of his mother. Palya pooh-poohed the lad, and tried to put him off by telling him to go and get the price from Ahmed, who had taken her from Musa's father. "That won't do," replied Musa. "You have in your possession one of our family, and you have paid no member of our family for her. I am the representative of my father, Nur Mahommed, and will trouble you to hand over." £24 was the standard compensation for wives in the Zakka Khel country, and it would have been well for Palya had he admitted the claim. £24 will wipe out an indignity, but, without that, to see a lady of one's family in the possession of another is more than any Pathan can

stand. The indignity had to be wiped out in blood, and Palya joined the two previous husbands under the ground, while Musa, after wiping his dagger, set about to find a sale for his mother elsewhere.

This brings me to the end of my instances. I might, of course, go on for ever,—explaining how the system of exchanges leads sometimes to a boy of ten being married to an elderly young lady of eighteen, and how the necessity of finding a bride for one's son leads occasionally to the betrothal of a damsel before her birth even. But I imagine that I have written enough to bring before you a picture of the state of affairs among the people with whom I have lived for fourteen years. No doubt, the picture I have drawn will startle some, but it must be remembered that people, as a rule, approve of themselves and the lives that they and their ancestors have spent. I may tell, to illustrate this, a pleasing story of a Tibetan girl, who came with imploring cries to the tent of a Political Officer. With tears she related how her stern parent wished to marry her off, but she, disapproving of the match, had fled with her own beloved. The Political Officer, melted by the tears of the beautiful girl,—Tibetans, unlike ordinary Indians, are beautiful in English eyes,—promised to send for all concerned, and to try and patch up matters. The girl, however, would not be reassured till he went out to console her beloved. He went out, and found *two* young men standing sheepishly. *They were her beloved.* In Tibet young ladies have to marry a family of brothers, and she had disapproved of one family and found in another her heart's desire.

We may wonder how Indian women of certain classes put up with the constant seclusion and immurement that they are subjected to. But those who for generations have been secluded take a pride in their seclusion, and thank God that they are not like other women, who show their faces impudently and shamelessly before men. We find difficulty in understanding it, but there the feeling is, and I will give

a strong example of it. In Kangra, where the bluest of blue-blooded Rajputs live, a fire occurred in a Rajput's house, when none of the males of the household were at home. The serving maids all escaped with ease, but the two Rajput ladies in the house preferred to remain inside and burn to death to going out and being seen by other men.

So, again, certain native papers record with obvious approval instances of the suicide of women on the death of their husbands, and there is no doubt that there would be plenty of genuine suttees, did not all who abet the sacrifice stand the chance of the severest punishment. Of course the prohibition of suttee for so long has to some extent dissipated the desire for it, but it is impossible to bring up generations after generations of high-class Hindu ladies in the belief that they should hasten to join their lords in the next world, without finding that a number to this day regret bitterly the necessity of remaining alive. Life is dear, and many did object in the past, but more took a pride in doing the right thing as understood by their community.

After all, all change to be of value must be slow in movement. Our Revolution was far more successful and bloodless than that of the French. The present position of the fair sex in this country has only been achieved after centuries of gradual change. Christianity has done much, and the age of chivalry did more, but the mediæval times held women in greater subjection than at present.

So, too, we must see glimpses of a better time in the western Punjab in the refusal of some widows to marry their brothers-in-law, and in mothers taking cash for their daughters in preference to letting their stepsons collect for themselves.

A. J. O'BRIEN.

COLLECTANEA.

A FOLKLORE SURVEY OF COUNTY CLARE (*continued*).

XVIII. *Animal and Plant Superstitions (continued)*.

Horse.—I have found no folklore relating to horses except that already given regarding supernatural animals.¹ I have since recalled a legend of a dangerous spectral horse, probably a *púca*, haunting the bridge over the Blackwater, between Limerick and Clonlara, and the tree-darkened road towards the latter place,—a terror by night to passengers till about twenty years ago. There was also the bodiless head of a spectral horse which used to float beside cars on a road near Clooney, of which I heard about 1876, but now forget the details. The riding of horses by fairies was not unknown.

Dog, Fox, and Hare.—Besides the supernatural dogs already noted,² and the "Red Dog" (or Fox?), near Cragmoher, at Drehidnavaddaroe Bridge, there is little to tell. Finn's famous hound Bran was drowned at Tirmicbrain lake, and a ghastly dog broke the bones in some graveyard, (perhaps Doora or Clooney), before 1876.³ It is unlucky to meet a fox, a red-haired woman, or a hare "first thing" in the morning. The hare is said to eat human flesh,—probably from being often "started" in graveyards. I have been told by several Clare people of witches turning into hares, but the alleged incident was never located in the county.

Seal.—A very vague belief prevails on the coast that seals are

¹ Vol. xxi., pp. 481-2.

² Vol. xxi., pp. 482-3.

³ As in most of my recollections of folk-tales heard before 1876, the details are forgotten.

enchanted human beings.⁴ It gets more definite above Galway Bay, where the Kinealeys are of reputed seal descent. Some such belief may underlie the name Cumarra (or sea-hound) in the MacNamara family. I found more difficulty in getting fisher beliefs in recent years than in getting folklore from the country people. Much of what I heard in 1906 was probably of tourist origin, and, like the *merrow* at Killard,⁵ not to be trusted as genuine belief.

Otter.—Beyond vague belief in an enormous "durracow"⁶ (the king of the otters), which I heard of as a child on the Shannon Bank about some unnamed lake in east Clare, I am not aware of any folklore about this creature in the county. There was said to be a "remarkable" otter at Glenomera.

Cat.—The cat was much regarded by the early Irish, and holds honourable place in their ancient code of laws. It even appears in the illuminations of the *Book of Kells*. Numerous places in Clare bear its name, but local belief tends to consider the "cat" in these names as a weird monster. The "Cata" and "Faracat" of legend⁷ were probably "dragons." The cat has supernatural knowledge. If a cat looks fixedly at a person without apparent reason it forebodes sickness or death, but if it does so to an unmarried person, after making its toilet, it foretells marriage.

⁴ So in Aed Baclamp from the *Book of Lismore*, (*Silva Gadefica*, vol. ii., p. 72), St. Brendan changes 50 seals into horses, which carry into the sea their riders, who, on reaching it, are, like their steeds, changed into seals.

⁵ Vol. xxi., p. 342. Mrs. Dorothea Townshend of Oxford calls my attention to the probability that this story was made up by Dr. Keightley (v. App. to his *Fairy Mythology*). In my original Ms. I expressed great doubt as to this story, having found no equivalent to it near Dunbeg or Kilkee, but this was unfortunately omitted in publication. The Miltown mermaid was probably one of the white seals occasionally seen on the coast.

⁶ *I.e.* *Dobharchu*, water-hound. The Irish called the wolf *fael-chu* (wild hound) and *cu allaid*, and the marten *crann chu* (branch hound). The more common name for the wolf in Clare is *breagh*, as in Breaghva and Breffy, the name of several townlands. The other wolf name *Mac Tíre* (son of the country), is attached to Knockaunvictiera hill near Lisdoonvarna (where it refers to the animal), and to Cahermactire, a fort near Inchiquin Hill; at the latter place it may refer to a person, as the name Mac Tíre is found in various annals.

⁷ Vol. xxi., pp. 477-9.

The wild cat is believed to have a spike or hook at the end of its tail which it can stick into a pursuer, but I found no such fine legend in Clare on this point as I did near Kenry in Limerick, where the cats pursued, and anchored themselves on, a farmer and his dog, after chasing them from Clorane to Old Kildimo!

Elk.—The Irish elk is known among the turf cutters of Clooney and Tulla as the "Fiaghmore" (so pronounced, but really *fiadh-mor*, big deer),—"it might be one of the deer Finn hunted." Its numerous remains have given to one townland the name "Fiaghmore, Fiah,"⁸ in 1655. The "Agallamh"⁹ has an interesting allusion. Diarmaid kills a huge deer, and its antler, when resting on his foot, reaches above his head, despite his great height. Caoilte produces this horn from a lake to convince St. Patrick of the truth of his stories of the heroes.

Badger, Squirrel, and Marten.—It is asserted that there are two kinds of badgers,—the "dog-badger," which eats carrion and digs into graves, and the "pig-badger," which is a strict vegetarian and is eatable. In the *Boroma* tract from the *Book of Leinster*,¹⁰ and the "Agallamh," badger bacon and squirrels are mentioned as fit to set before a king or hero. It is doubtful whether the *togmal*, (kept as a pet by Queen Maeve and killed on her shoulder by Cuchullin's slingstone), was a squirrel or a bird, but squirrel skins, along with marten skins, formed a considerable export from Ireland at least from 1230 to 1580, and in 1686 Roderic O'Flaherty names the squirrel amongst the animals of Connaught.¹¹ The true marten was until recently common in east Clare, and, like the supposed "marten-cat" (a large red domestic cat that has gone wild), was reputed uncanny in my boyhood. I have seen martens at play in the Clare woods in 1869, and had one stuffed in 1876, but they seem now to be extinct.

Hybrids.—Besides the "dog-badger," there were said to be uneatable hybrids of the cat and the rabbit, and of the rook and

⁸ *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxiv., p. 94.

⁹ *Silva Gadelica*, vol. ii., p. 176. Antlers over six feet long have been found in Clare, and there is a fine single antler 6 ft. 2 in. long at Violet Hill, Broadford.

¹⁰ *Revue Celtique*, vol. xiii., p. 47.

¹¹ *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xl., p. 245.

the domestic hen. The "soft egg laid by the cock" was looked on with suspicion, and so was the egg of the bat, which was even unlucky to find, and could be used for malignant charms.

Stoat.—In Clare the stoat is always called "weazel." A corruption of the strange Irish name *Peasóg* (the little beard) is as often used, even by English speakers, as the *whishshoge* or *whushshoge*. The creature was equally disliked and respected. It is wished "Good morning, ma'am," by some, and generally saluted by raising the hat on meeting; but others spit and cross themselves. It is regarded as peevish and persistent; "as cross as a bag of weazels" is a proverb in east Clare, while Finn is compared to a weazel in the pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainne. I have heard many stories about its revengefulness "when its nest is killed," and of one of its persistent attempts to get at a corpse in a house in south-east Clare, rather, it was thought, for magical purposes than from hunger. Old belief ascribed to the animal the power of poisoning. At Carnelly a labourer told that when cutting a meadow near the "Druids' Altar"¹² he killed a young weazel. Soon afterwards his wife brought him his dinner and a can of sour milk. While they talked, she cried out that a weazel was spitting into the can, but the man laughed and drank the milk. Soon afterwards he got violent gripes, and gave himself up for lost. The doctor had great difficulty in persuading him to try any remedy, and his wife was almost scandalized by his recovery. A similar tale was told at my old home, Attyflin, in which young weazels were not killed but put on a wisp of grass safely in a bush. The parents were seen spitting into the milk, but, on finding the young ones safe, they returned and upset the can.¹³ So "even the weazel has justice." Both stories probably originated in the animal's love for milk.

Rat.—A Clare woman told me that a man whose love was rejected by a girl living in Limerick city died, and his soul went into a rat and used to bite her throat until she had to emigrate.¹⁴ The rat tried to follow her and was drowned, and so the persecution ended. A curious "parliament of rats" was held near Durra in

¹² Mrs. O'Callaghan of Maryfort and others.

¹³ Late Hugh Massy Westropp.

¹⁴ Mrs. M. McCormick.

Upper Bunratty, the fields being covered with them, but, when it broke up, the "troops" dispersed, and no bands were seen at any distance from the rendezvous. A rat was "heard talking with the Devil" in the grave of an unpopular person before 1875, but how the holders of this curious conversation were identified was never stated. I have met a belief in speaking rats in eastern Clare and among fishermen at Kilkee.

Hedgehog.—This animal is reputed to steal apples and suck cows and eggs, so that it is persecuted and called *grainoge* (little ugly thing).

Birds.—A pair of ravens roosted in a top window of the round tower of Iniscatha (Scattery) early in the last century. The birds were said to escort their young, when fully fledged, across the Shannon to Carrigfoile Castle in Kerry, and not to let them return to the island.¹⁵ Scaldcrows (roystons) are considered unlucky, and much feared. The old Irish regarded them as incarnations of the war-goddess Bodbh.¹⁶ Birds as omens have already been noted.¹⁷ The bat is looked on as a sort of bird, and it is ominous of death for it to fly at one's face. The entry of a robin into a house is a death omen near Tulla, but elsewhere a sign of good fortune. Although swans are so plentiful that I have often seen more than forty together in Inchiquin and other lakes, the only folklore associated with them seems to be a tale of swan-maidens at Inchiquin. The hunting of the wren has been described in Section XIV.¹⁸

Fishes.—It was regarded as a custom among the fishermen of Kilrush and Scattery that no one should go fishing for three days after the arrival of the herring shoals, but, when the first day dawned, a crowd of boats was always discovered, and much quarrelling resulted.¹⁹ As the shoals arrived, a mass used to be celebrated on the shore at Kilmurphy, Ibrickan, to secure good

¹⁵ *Dublin University Magazine*, vol. xviii., p. 546.

¹⁶ *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. x.; *Revue Celtique*, vol. i.; Joyce, *Social History of Ireland*, vol. i., p. 267.

¹⁷ Vol. xxi., p. 190.

¹⁸ *Ante*, pp. 206-7, and Plate IX.

¹⁹ Hely Dutton, *Statistical Survey of the County of Clare* (1808), pp. 228, 259.

fishing and to keep off dogfishes and small sharks.²⁰ The reputed giant lake pikes and eels have already been mentioned.²¹

"*Worms.*"—Newts, lizards, and large caterpillars are included by the peasantry under this term. They are supposed to be very dangerous to both men and cattle, and are relentlessly destroyed. Of late years I have even had difficulty in saving the pretty little grey lizards, now much rarer than when, over thirty years ago, they swarmed in Clare Abbey and other sunny and sheltered ruins. A colony of unfortunate little lizards in a hollow tree was reported to me as "a nest of adders." My informant²² about the sacrifice on the dolmen of Maryfort,—the daughter of an old Peninsular veteran, living near Clonlara,—told me a circumstantial tale which was faintly remembered at Clonlara many years later. A "worm with legs" ran down a man's throat as he slept in a field, and he pined away, with an ever-increasing appetite, until he was persuaded to consult a "wise person." He was kept from drinking for two days by the expert, and then fed on bacon and taken to a stream. The patient's mouth was fastened open, and a freshly-toasted piece of bacon put near it. The thirsty "worm" heard the running water, and came out into the man's mouth, where it smelt the meat and sprang on it, fixing its claws in it. The "wise man" then threw the bacon into the water, and the man rapidly recovered. A similar story from near Tulla ended in the "worm" drinking and trying to jump back into the patient's mouth, but being killed by the doctor.²³ Children were told that, if they slept with their mouths open, "worms" (apparently caterpillars of the death's head or the puss moth in Inchiquin and central Clare) or

²⁰ Canon Dwyer, *Diocese of Killaloe*, p. 503, writes unsympathetically about this touching faith of the poor fishers.

²¹ Vol. xxi., p. 480.

²² Mrs. Eliza Egan; see *ante*, p. 51.

²³ I have heard an almost identical story told among my mother's relatives as happening in Lancashire. [The belief in "animals in people's insides" is almost universal in the British Isles; for examples see *N. & Q.*, 1st S., vol. vi., pp. 221, 338, 466, vol. ix., pp. 29, 84, 276, 523; 6th S., vol. i., pp. 311, 392; 9th S., vol. vii., pp. 222, 332, 390, vol. viii., pp. 89, 346, vol. xi., p. 467, vol. xii., pp. 414, 471; *Folk-Lore*, vol. x., p. 251; *British Medical Journal*, 1906; and many newspaper paragraphs, such as one in *Morning Leader*, June 3, 1908. I have heard the tale told in London with a large community of cockroaches as the tenants.—Ed.]

frogs (at Newmarket-on-Fergus) would creep down their throats. The finding of flukes and other parasites in sheep and cattle has helped the belief, and a beast's tongue, if swollen, is supposed to have been "stung by a worm." We have already noted a cure for "worm" in cattle,²⁴ and the milk of the "Seven Sisters" plant²⁵ boiled in milk cures similar cases in human beings.²⁶

Frog.—Besides jumping down children's throats, the frog cures a cough if held by the legs, put for a moment into the sufferer's mouth, and returned to the water.²⁷ In a variant of the Bishop Hatto legend, at Bohatey, near Lough Derg, frogs mob and devour a boy who has tortured one of their number.²⁸ Frogs are said to have been rained on a field in eastern Burren more than once.

Insects etc.—An old woman at Maryfort in 1869 scandalized her neighbours by asserting butterflies to be dwellings of the human soul, and that her own soul would go into a "blessed (tortoise-shell) butterfly." Whence she derived this belief is unknown. I heard about the same time, and, it may be, from the same source, a horrible story of a "spider as big as a *bonnive*" (young pig) sucking the blood of children in the dark, but I forget the details. It is lucky to kill the "daudayle" (*dubh dael*) or "devil's coach-horse," for this hideous but harmless creature has the repute of having guided Judas to Gethsemane.²⁹ When it "cocks up its hind end," you should crush it, preferably with your bare foot, for you are then spared a day, hour, or week in Purgatory. In Clare I have only found this belief near Tulla, but it is common in other counties.

²⁴ *Ante*, p. 53.

²⁵ Cf. *ante*, p. 57.

²⁶ So the late Michael Hazelton, an astrologer and herb doctor near Limerick.

²⁷ So Mrs. O'Callaghan.

²⁸ So Capt. Hibbert of Woodpark. A similar tale is told about toads by Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerary in Wales*, cap. ii.

²⁹ In Ulster the "connach worm" replaces the beetle. The tale says that men were sowing a corn-field when Our Lord and the faithful disciples passed, and that He told the sowers to inform His pursuers that they had last seen Him when they were sowing. The corn at once sprang into ear, and the pursuers, on getting the answer to their enquiry, were turning back when the worm cried out that the seed had only just been sown. The Ulster tale was collected by Mr. W. F. De Vismes Kane, D.L., of Monaghan. In Clare Island (Mayo) Mr. N. Colgan found a similar tale told of St. Patrick and his enemies.

Plants.—The “hungry grass” grows on mountains, and, if trodden on, causes a sickening hunger which kills if not relieved. I knew a man in County Limerick who said he “knew it to happen to another man” on the Clare hills, and the victim got food in bare time to save him.³⁰ Seven strips of a plantain leaf stop the bleeding of a bad wound. The “Seven Sisters” plant for healing purposes must be picked at a particular period of the sun and moon in August. Fern “dust” (seeds) heals cuts from rushes; the dock charms nettle stings; and the four-leaved shamrock brings luck if found accidentally. The belief that house-leek preserves a house from burning³¹ is widespread in north and east Clare. The pennywort has a sectarian bias, and only cures Protestants,³² and this is connected near Bunratty with a curious legend of Anne Boleyn. This hapless queen, after enjoying by means of the plant the greatest influence over her terrible spouse,³³ “got into trouble, but, when she was sent to jail, she couldn’t get the plant, and they hanged her.” The rowan, or mountain ash, is a luck-bringer and preservative from magic, and I remember small forked twigs being carried. A rowan, planted at Iniscaltra about 890 by King Cormac mac Cuileanan, bore apples.³⁴ Moss from a skull, or an ancient cross such as that at Dysert O’Dea, or a pillar, is curative; the moss at Fortanne well was used for the eyes, but had to be replaced. If you see a “button mushroom” you should pluck it, as “it will never grow any more once it is looked at.”³⁵

THOS. J. WESTROPP.

(To be continued.)

³⁰ Michael Griffin, gardener at Attyfin, about 1875. My late brother, Hugh Massy Westropp, heard a similar tale near Glenomera.

³¹ *Anie*, p. 59.

³² So I heard frequently from people in Patrickswell, and Michael Hazelton, about the pennywort on Carrigogunnell Castle, and also from a woman of the district between Sixmillebridge and Bunratty.

³³ The details are needless. Cheap polemical pamphlets have familiarized the people with this queen’s tragedy. I recall an assault case, about 1890, in which one woman had called another “ye ould Anne Bulling” and been beaten for the gross insult.

³⁴ Mss. Royal Irish Academy, 23, G 5.

³⁵ Mrs. Mullins at Maryfort Lodge.

FIFTY HAUSA FOLK-TALES (*concluded*).46. *How the Hunter was Hunted.* (B. G.)

This is about a certain learned man. He had a son. They used to kill Buffaloes. They killed a number of Buffaloes. So a Buffalo changed herself and became a fine woman, and said she would revenge (herself); she would kill the learned man's son. When she had come to the town, each of the youths came to court her, (but) she refused him. Then she said it was the young hunter she wanted. When the young hunter came, she said,—“Thank God. See the youth whom I am going to sleep¹ with.” So he took her, and they were lying in his hut and talking, and talking, and talking, when she said,—“You, but (in) the whole town there are no hunters like you and your father.” She said,—“Have you (any) magic?” Then he said,—“Yes, certainly we have magic. Does one go to shoot a Buffalo without magic? She would kill the man.” Then she said,—“What kind of magic have you got to make to (give) her?” He said,—“We can change into an ant-hill.” He said,—“We can change also into a stump in the road.” She said,—“Are they all, (those) two?” Then he said,—“We can change into Zop”——. “Hi,” called out the boy's father, “be silent.” So they left off talking.² So she slept with him, (and, when) day broke, she said,—“Well, come and escort me.” So he said,—“Very well.” So he took up his quiver³ and slung (it) on. Then she said,—“What, do you accompany me armed?” (my escorting only with a quiver). He said,—“Ah, perhaps (when) I am returning I may see a Buffalo, and I can shoot (her).” Then she said,—“No, no, you will not take me far.” So they went and travelled on, and on, and on, and talked until he said,—“Well, I have accompanied you far enough (the escorting suffices), I shall return home.” Then she said,—“Ah no, take me as far as the stream; (then) you can go home.” When they had gone to the stream, she said,—“Very well, leave me here and go home. I also

¹ With the Hausas, who indulge in free and easy love, the lady comes to the man's house.

² Or, perhaps, “they left that topic of conversation.”

³ The Hausas say “slung on the quiver” where we say “take bow and arrows.”

am going to my town." So he crossed the stream, she also crossed the stream, the stream was between them, neither saw the other (there was not the "see-er" of the other). Then she pulled off the waist-cloths and threw them down, she pulled off the head-cloth and threw it down, then she rolled (on the ground) and changed into a Buffalo, (then) she got up and came and stood in front of him. Then he said,—“Oh, here is a Buffalo, (and) I have not brought any (weapon).” Then she rushed at him to gore him with her horns, but he changed into an ant-hill. Then she went to rush the ant-hill, but he rose up and became a stump. Then she arose to gore the stump, but he arose and became a ring. Then she came and took up (the ring), and said,—“Now he said ‘Zop,’ (but) his father stopped him. But Zop is not Zobe” (ring). So she threw him away in the grass. Then she said,—“Now, amongst all the trees there is none (which) owns the name of Zop (there is no owner of the name of Zop) except the ring.” She said,—“It is the ring. Let me go and find him and kill him.” So she came and (began) searching and searching in the grass, (but) did not find him. So she said,—“His father saved him. If it had not been for that I should have killed him.” So she went off. Then the boy returned home, and told his father. And the father said,—“Now, you, you have no sense. Even though you are very fond⁴ of a woman you must (do) not reveal to her your inmost thoughts.”⁵ That is the end of this one.

47. *The Man who married a Gazelle.* (M.)

This is about a certain man who had a wife. Then another woman also came and married him; as for her she was a Gazelle, but she came and changed into a fine woman, she became the rival wife. When she had married him, they remained (there). He had a farm of (used to farm) okroes.⁶ So it happened that one day she, not she who was the Gazelle, was told to go and collect the okroes. So she went and filled a calabashful. Then the Gazelle was sent, so she went and got (some). Then she called her fellows, and when she had called them they ate up the okroes. Then she returned home, and said she had not seen any-

⁴ Lit. “Though you fill her love.”

⁵ Lit. “inside.”

⁶ A common slimy vegetable, said to be an aphrodisiac.

thing on the farm. Then the husband said,—“All right.” When she was about to go again, a boy, the son of the first wife, was told to follow her behind and see what she was doing in the forest. But she did not know. So the boy went and climbed a bushy tree. He arrived before her at the farm. When he arrived he climbed a bushy tree, and hid. So, when she came, she called her fellow Gazelles. They came in a crowd and ate the okroes. When they had eaten (them), she turned into a human being (again) and returned home. She said she had not found anything at the farm. Then the boy came and told his father. So the father said,—“All right.” About three days afterwards⁷ she was told to return and get some okroes. So she went. But the husband followed behind her. When she had come, she put down the calabash, and changed and became a Gazelle. When she had become (one), she went and called her fellows. She called them. They came. They took the okroes and ate (them). As for the husband he was watching them. Then her fellows went away, and she changed into a human being, took up her calabash, returned home, and said she had not got anything. Then the husband came back and said,—“Oh, indeed, so-and-so is a Gazelle?” As for her she was grinding (corn). While he was speaking a Gazelle tail appeared. Then she left the grinding, and changed (herself), and went away at a run. Then the husband followed her, but did not catch her. So he returned home and remained.

48. *The Elephant's Daughter.* (M.)

A certain man (found) an Elephant lying down. When she was lying down he came and caused her to conceive. When he had caused her to conceive, she gave birth to a girl. The Elephant was (still) sleeping. She did not awake (arise) until that time, until the girl grew big. So it was that, when the Elephant arose from sleep, she said,—“You Girl, what has brought you here?” She said,—“What? I came out of your inside.” So then she said,—“Oh!” The girl was ugly, (the owner of badness). Then the Elephant said,—“You must not remain here now. You must go into the town.” She (Elephant) said,—“If you remain here, my relatives will eat you.” So then the Elephant went and got

⁷ Lit. “When they had (made) days about three.”

wood for her to take and sell and get food. So the girl said,—“Very well,” and the Elephant said,—“Now always (when) Friday comes you come here.” She said,—“Very well.” So she (girl) went and came to the town, and went to the mouth of a well whence the chief’s water was drawn. Then she saw the chief’s slaves drawing water, so she said,—“For God’s (sake) will you not give me water to drink?” Then a certain slave of the chief said (*term of abuse*). Then she said,—“O ugly one (ugliness is with you), who would give you water to drink?” Then her fellow-slave said,—“Come, give her (some) by all means.” So she gave her (some), and she drank. She said,—“My elder sister,⁸ shall I not now obtain a place to hide (myself) in your house?” Then one of (them) said,—“Oh, what could be done with you?” But the elder one said,—“Ah, I heard that (our) mistress was looking for a girl to stay (with her).” So it happened that they went to the house, and she, the slave, said,—“O, Mistress, here is a girl. Do you want her?” She said,—“Well done. Thank God.” So the girl remained. Every (always) Friday she went to the house of her mother, the Elephant, and the mother got wood for the daughter, and she returned home. She, the wife with whom she lived (was) as a daughter, had given birth to (one of the) sons of the chief. He too, the son, when he came to eat food said to bring the girl that he might eat food. Then the girl was hidden. (This went on) until the feast⁹ came. When (next day) the eve of the feast would come, the girl ran away and went to the house of her mother. So then the girl came and told her, and said,—“The day after to-morrow is the feast.” Then the mother said,—“Very well. Return for the present.” So she said,—“Very well.” She returned home. When the night of the feast came, she returned to her mother, and the mother took her and swallowed (her), and she brought her up again a bright red, half of her body (being) gold. When she had brought the girl up she examined (her), and then she again swallowed the girl, and brought her up half gold, half silver. So then a metal¹⁰ chair was brought

⁸ *Yarus* means really “elder sister,” but it is employed to denote any connection, (friend, fellow-slave, etc.).

⁹ For a description of the *salla*, see Robinson, *Hausaland*, and story 4.

¹⁰ *Ka(r)rifi* is sometimes used for silver.

up for her, and drummers and big drummers, and female attendants. So she came back to the town, and alighted at the place where the games were held, and sat (there). The metal chair was placed for her. Then the chief's son came and said he wanted her in marriage. She said,—“Very well. As for me I like you.” He said,—“Shall I give you ten slaves?” She said,—“No.” She did not want them. He said,—“Shall I bring you ten calabashes of kola-nuts?”¹¹ She said she did not want them. So it was that she said,—“That small ring on your hand, that (is what) I want.” So he said,—“Very well. Is that all you want?” So she said,—“Yes.” Then she arose and went to her mother's house. And he escorted her (a part of the way), and returned home. So the girl reached the house, and the mother again swallowed the girl, and brought her up ugly, not pretty. Then she got wood for her, and she returned to the chief's house, (she) the girl. Then she whom she was with said,—“Where have you been?” She said,—“I went to the forest and lost myself” (head). So she said,—“Oh.” Then the chief's son brought some porridge, and said the girl was to mix (it) for him. So she mixed (it), and took the ring which he had given her and put it into the porridge. So the boy when he drank saw the ring. Then he said,—“Where did you get this ring?” She said,—“Oh, you saw it (then)?” Then he said,—“This ring is mine.” Then he recognised her. So the boy told his father the chief. He said he wanted the girl in marriage. So he was given (her), he married (her). Then the girl went and told her mother in the forest. So the mother gave her finery. That is all. They remained (happy).

49. *The Wonderful Horse.* (B. G.)

(There were) three boys. The mother was dead. The father was dead. The two elder ones did nothing except play draughts. Auta (the youngest) did not play draughts; (he) only went about learning magic (obtaining charms). If he heard of a learned man who possessed magic, he went to him (and asked) to be given

¹¹ These nuts are sold at 5 for 3d. in the Jemaa district, and always form part of a ceremonial gift. See Tremearne, *The Tailed Headhunters of Nigeria*. Many are brought from Ashanti.

power to transform (himself). So he heard the news of a she-devil who was giving magic spells for transformation. So he went and said,—“O She-Devil, I have come to you to be given a spell for changing that I may become a horse.” So she said,—“Very well.” She brought (it), and gave him (it). So he went home. When he had gone home, he told his brothers to plait a rope and a hobble. So they plaited (them). Then he took them and came with them to a great city like Zaria, and he became a horse (like) an Asben (horse). The townspeople used to buy Asben horses for twelve slaves. When he had become a horse (finished thus), he said to his brothers,—“Now, you seize me and take me to the Chief, (that) he may give you twelve slaves.” So they went to the Chief, and said,—“Look at our horse. We have brought (it) to sell.” So the Chief said,—“Very well. Your horse is a good (one). I will buy (it for) twelve slaves.” They said,—“Agreed. Do not tie him up loosely, (lest) he bolt, but tightly.” The Chief said,—“All right, I understand.” When he had tied him up inside the house, the day of inspecting the town came. Then the Chief said,—“Well, let me ride my horse which I bought (for) twelve slaves, that I may enjoy myself.” When he had mounted him, he (horse) began prancing, and prancing, and prancing. When he saw any women he would bow and salute them. Then the Chief said,—“Well, I have never seen such an enjoyable horse” (with sweetness thus).

Now, when they had come near the door of the house, the Chief dismounted, and the horse bolted. Now in the town were two thousand horses. So all (the riders) followed him at a gallop, but he escaped from them. Now there was a certain seeker of magic in the Chief's house, and he also had a horse. So the Chief said,—“Now follow him. Wherever he enters you seize (him).” Well, he (Auta) was galloping on, and on, and on, and he (seeker of magic) was following, and following, and following him. When he (Auta) saw that he (seeker of magic) had almost caught him, he arose¹² and became a hawk. He also, the pursuer, abandoned his horse, and became an eagle, (and kept on) following him. When he turned his head and saw him (getting)

¹² *Tarkî* is almost untranslatable in these sentences, but seems to be the proper word to use with *zanna* and *rikidda*.

close to him, he changed and became a crown-bird. He too, the pursuer, changed and became a marabou. They went on and on (thus). They arose, they escaped, and were approaching Auta's town. When he saw that he (seeker of magic) had almost caught him, he changed and became a *shallala*.¹³ He too, the pursuer, became a *chada*. Then they came and perched on the tree (under) which Auta's brothers were (playing) draughts. Now (see) they had alighted together. There was the fugitive, there was the one (who) wanted to catch him, so he Auta changed and became a draught, and fell down to where his brothers were playing.¹⁴ He too, the pursuer, changed and became a man, and said to the brothers,—“Give me my draught!” Then they said,—“Ah, whence have you brought a draught?” Then he said,—“Ah, you count indeed and you will see that there is (a certain) one too many.” So they counted and said,—“Truly, see there is one too many. Come and take (it) yourself.”¹⁵ He put out his hand to take it, when the draught became a scorpion and stung him. Then he (seeker of magic) changed (into) a snake, and was going to swallow the scorpion. As he was about to swallow him, he (the scorpion) became a large speckled snake. When the snake saw that the large speckled snake was too big for him, and he was not able to swallow (him), he (simply) looked (at it). Then he, Auta, who had changed into the large speckled snake, said,—“Here, let us arise and become men.” They arose and became men, and then Auta said,—“Is it on account of the twelve slaves whom I took from (in the place of) your master (the father of your house) that you are following me?” Then he (seeker of magic) said,—“Well, I am living with the chief. He knows I seek magic. Now, shall another magician come and take his property?” He (seeker of magic) said,—“Now, if I had not followed you, the chief would have said I (was) a traitor. That is what caused me to follow you.” Auta said,—“Very well. Start and go home.” He said,—“Oh no, I do (shall) not know

¹³ Said to be a large bird; also *challala*. Why the pursuer should change into a small bird is not clear. Perhaps the *shallala* is really even smaller.

¹⁴ i.e., in the hollowed board.

¹⁵ Or “Take your thing.” *Taffi abinka* means “Go away with your business,” or something like that.

(where) the house (is) from here." Then he (Auta) said,—“Very well. Let us change into crows and I'll take you home.” So they changed into crows, and they started. When they (had come) close to the town, he (Auta) said,—“Now do you see?” So he (seeker of magic) became a man, and went to the chief, and said,—“Well, I followed and followed him for three days, (but) I did not catch him.” Then the chief said,—“Very well. Where is your horse?” He said,—“I left him in the forest.” So another horse was brought for him, a present worth a million cowries was brought for him, because he had suffered¹⁶ for three days on the chief's account.

50. *The Lucky Youngest Son.* (S. D.)

There was a certain lucky man, Ahmadu the rich man, (who had) three children, and three wives (his wives also three). Each had exactly one son. Then he fell ill, and knew he was about to die. So he called his eldest son (his son the eldest), and said,—“If I die, of all these riches do not take anything except (my) stick and boot.” Then the eldest son said,—“Father (great one), is that the kind you are? Of all your goods I am not to take anything except the stick and boot? Well, I shall not take the stick and boot.” So he (Ahmadu) said,—“Very well. Go and stay with your mother.” Then he called the second of them, and said,—“Listen, Mahamma, if I die, do not take anything except the prayer-jug.”¹⁷ Then he (Mahamma) said,—“Is that the sort (my) father is? I shall not take the prayer-jug.” Then he called Auta also, and said,—“If I die, do not take anything except the stick and boot.” Then he (Auta) said,—“Father, I love you (wish your life) better than anything.” He said,—“Whatever you tell me to take I will take.” He (Ahmadu) said,—“Very well. Take the boot and the stick.” Now when Auta had taken (them), and had left, the father died. Then the women of the house mourned and ceased. Then they went to the chief for the division of the heritage. When it had been divided up, the eldest son was given (his share), the second was given his also, (but)

¹⁶ Or “worked hard;” lit., “made trouble.”

¹⁷ Small earthenware jug taken by a man going to the mosque, and holding water to wash with.

when Auta was given (his share of the) property he refused, and said the boot and stick would content him. Then (his) mother came and begun to swear at Auta.¹⁸ When she had sworn at him, he (nevertheless) said he would not take (anything). When he got tired of the swearing, he went off (into) the forest. When he had taken the road, he met with a certain person who had collected wood and had lit (it). He (certain person) said,—“O Youth, where are you going?” He (Auta) said,—“What has that to do with you?” (Where is your business?) So he passed on and came upon a hunter, who said,—“O Youth, will you not give me your stick?” He took the stick, and gave him (it). Then he (hunter) saw a bird on high, and threw up the stick. And the stick stuck on high (in the branches), so he took the bird and gave the boy (it). The boy then went and came upon a certain person who had lit a fire, (but) had nothing to cook. He (certain person) said,—“O Youth, will you not give me the bird that I may cook (it)?” Now, when he had given him (it), he (certain person) cooked and ate (it). Then he took ashes and wrapped (them up) for him in his (Auta's) coat. So the boy went and came upon a certain woman. She was making porridge, but had no ash to put in it.¹⁹ She said,—“O Youth, will you not give me the ash?” He gave her (it). She took a broken piece of calabash,²⁰ and gave the boy. Then he went, and came upon some people digging (diggers) on a farm, and they said,—“O Youth, will you not give us your porridge that we may eat?” So he took (it), and gave them (it). So they ate. Then they took a hoe, and gave him. So he went and came upon a blacksmith, who had made a great fire (piled up a fire) with bellows, (but) had no iron for (forging). So he said,—“O Youth, will you not give me the hoe that I may make knives?” So he (Auta) took (it) and gave him, and the blacksmith made knives. When he had made (them), he gave

¹⁸ The distribution is not on Muhammedan lines, as, if it had been, the mother would have benefitted by the son's refusal. It seems to resemble more the Hindu system, in which a mother takes part of the son's share.

¹⁹ Many natives use ash (of guinea-corn or *ateha*) instead of salt, when the latter is unobtainable.

²⁰ Evidently full of *tuo*. The *tuo* is a sort of porridge, but may have meat in it. It is mostly eaten in the evening.

him (Auta) one. When the boy had taken (it), he started travelling in the forest. Then he went and came upon a weaver; he had made (collected) a white cloth (shuttle of white cotton). Then he said,—“O Youth, will you not give me your knife that I may cut this white cloth?”²¹ When he had given him (it) he cut the white cloth. Then he (Auta) said,—“Now pay me for my knife.” So he (weaver) took all the white cloth, and gave the boy (it). The boy went on, and came upon (a place) where a girl, a maiden, had died. As for them,²² they had no white cloth in which to take her to the grave. “O Boy, will you not give us this white cloth in which to take the corpse to the grave?” So he took (it) and gave them. So they cut it up and sewed it (*i.e.* the strips together), and wrapped (it) around (covered) the girl. When they were about to take her to the grave, the boy caught hold of the girl, and said,—“Pay me for my white cloth.” Then they took the corpse and gave him (it), and he lifted it on to his head.²³ He went on travelling and emerged from the forest, and went and came to a large town. Now there was a river at the gate of the town. Each day²⁴ the chief's wives would come and get water. He, however, when he came with the dead girl, dug two holes and put her feet (in them). He stretched (the body upright), (and) she stood up. Then he took all the white cloth, and wrapped her (in it) right down to the ground. Then he went back in the shade, and waited. When the chief's wives came to draw water at the place, he said,—“For God's sake will you not give my wife (some) water that she may drink? I gave her (some), but she refused to drink because of (her) pride.”²⁵ Then one, the head wife of the chief, got some water in a calabash, and came and said,—“Here.” Silence. She did not accept (it). Then another of the chief's wives, when she had

²¹ Made in long strips about four inches in width. See Robinson's *Hausaland*.

²² *i.e.*, the mourners. A white shroud (*Hlāfani*) is necessary.

²³ The usual method of carrying the dead. The corpse is usually wrapped in a very stout mat or in a specially stiffened wrapper.

²⁴ *Ananan* seems out of place here. It usually means “it went on,” or something similar.

²⁵ A woman usually gets water for a man, not *vice versa*.

bounded forward, seized the calabash and came and said,—“Here.” Silence. Then she hit the woman (corpse) on the forehead, and the corpse fell down. Then the boy ran out from the shade and (began) crying, and said the chief’s wives had killed his wife (for him the wife) at the stream, and the alarm reached even to the chief’s house. Then the chief said it was a lie. His wives would not quarrel. So he said,—“Go and see.”²⁶

When they had come, they came upon the corpse lying down, so they went and said to the chief,—“Ah, it is true! Your wives have done murder.” Then he said,—“Very well, let her (corpse) be brought here.” When she had been carried and brought to the chief, he said,—“Here, Boy, whence have you come with this woman?” Then he said to the chief,—“What has that to do with you?” Then the judge said,—“This boy is to be feared (thing of fear). Settle with him, and let him go.” So the chief brought two wives instead of his own, and gave him (them). Then the boy went out and entered the forest, and went and lived in the forest and built a house. When he had built a house, he drove away the two wives whom the chief had given him, and said he would live alone. Then a Frog said,—“Auta, may I come to your house and live?” He said,—“Come and stay by all means.” Then a Monkey said,—“Auta, may I come to your house and live?” He said,—“Come and stay by all means.” Then a Horse said,—“Auta, may I come to your house and live?” He said,—“Come and stay by all means.” A Camel, a Donkey, Stinging Ants, Ants, large Stinging Travelling Ants, a Mule, a large Snake, a Crown-bird, a Crow, all came and lived (with him). They conceived all at the same time. Then a Bull came, and said everyone was to build a storehouse in the compound. They made thirty (altogether). He (Bull) came and built thirty receptacles inside the houses. Again he came, and made thirty deep holes in the compound. Then the Bull filled all the storehouses with gold, that is what he gave birth to (that was his birth). The Mule came and brought forth silver. He filled all the thirty holes. The Camel filled the receptacles with cowries. The rest, the very small ones, brought forth slaves, they filled the

²⁶ These (and the following) verbs are in the passive, but must be rendered by the active in English.

slave-house. Then the Spider came to the house to beg. So he (Auta) took guinea-corn, and gave (it to) the Spider. As for the Spider he went to the chief and said,—“What will you give me for my news?” He (chief) said,—“A kola nut.” He (Spider) said,—“How many ears have you?” He (chief) said he had two ears (his ears two). He (Spider) said,—“Add two more and you will hear the news.” He (chief) said he had added (them). He (Spider) said,—“This boy (who) is here in the forest, (in) the whole world there is not one who is so rich” (the owner of his luck). Then the chief said,—“It is a lie.” He (Spider) said,—“Very well. Send me and the councillors to go and see.” So he (chief) sent him and the councillors, and they went. So they went and saw the riches. The riches were greater than those of the chief. They went and said,—“This boy is rich.” Now, as for the chief, there was a white leper in his house. The advice (talk) of the white leper was what the chief listened to. So he said,—“Now, White Leper, what shall we do that we may take his property?” Then the white leper said,—“Take some grain and put it in a bag.²⁷ Take grains of guinea-corn and put them in the bag.” Now a great number were put inside the bag, and black *atcha* (grains) were taken and put in the bag. *Dauro* (grains) were taken and put in the bag. Millet (grains) were taken and put in the bag. *Atcha* was taken and put in the bag. Rice and beans were put in the bag. Now the bag was filled. So it was tied up, and taken to the boy's house. He was told that by (the time) day broke he must (have) sorted them out separately (one, one). Then the boy saw he could not, and (began) to cry. He cried hard. Then the Ant came, and the Stinging Ant, and the tiny Red Ant, and the Smelling Ant came, and told him to be patient. He took all the calabashes, and gave them. One took (a grain) and put (it) here; another took (a grain) and put (it) here. When day broke, they had divided them all separately. Then the chief's councillors came to take (them). So he (Auta) took (the calabashes), and gave them (them). Then the chief called the white leper, and said,—“Well, how shall we kill this boy?” Now there was a certain big lake which no one had ever entered (had

²⁷ Bolster-shaped, with slit in centre, slung on donkeys, so that the slit is above the middle of the back.

not been touched (its) entering). Now there was a fan-palm in the middle of the lake. So the white leper said to the chief,—“Tell the boy to fetch two fruits of the palm-tree.” So he was told. Then the boy saw he was unable to enter (the water). So he cried hard. Then the Monkey and the Frog came to the boy. They said,—“Dry your tears,²⁸ because of such (things). We asked you long ago if we could come to your house and live.” Then the Monkey arose and hopped to the edge of the lake. From the edge of the lake he jumped and alighted upon the fan-palm. But the Frog dived, and did not come up until he had reached the fan-palm. Then the Frog climbed the fan-palm, he also. When the Monkey had plucked (one), he jumped straight out,²⁹ and the Frog also pulled off (out) his and fell into the water, and did not rise until he was at the bank.³⁰ So they brought the two fruits of the fan-palm, and the boy went and put (them) aside. Then the chief's councillors came to take the fruits of the fan-palm (next) morning. He (Auta) took (them), and gave them (them). They brought (them) to the chief. The chief said,—“Well, White Leper, what shall we do to get this boy's riches?” He (white leper) said,—“Look here. It is now the dry season. There is no water. So you tell him to bring a leaf of the millet about daybreak.” The chief said,—“Very well.” Then the boy came and cried hard, until the White-breasted Crow and the Crown-bird came and said,—“O Boy, what are you crying for?” (the crying of what are you doing). He said,—“The chief has said I must bring him a millet leaf now in the dry season.” They said,—“Come, dry your tears and be easy.” Then the Crow went north, (and) the Crown-bird went south. They flew saying,—“Da, da, da,” so went the Crow. So she went to where she came upon the millet high; the Crown-bird came to where the millet had began to put out ears (eye). She then, the Crow, found a place where (the millet was) ready to be threshed. So she arrested (her flight), and tied up a bundle. As for the Crown-bird, she found a place where (the leaves) were peeling off. So she also tied up a bundle. The Crow brought (hers), (and) the Crown-bird brought (hers). So they brought

²⁸ “Silence” would be too rude an expression.

²⁹ *i. e.*, on the bank.

³⁰ Lit. “did not rise except outside.”

(them) to the boy. When day broke, he took them to the chief.⁸¹ As for him, when the Snake saw that the boy had very nearly been killed, he said,—“O youth.” He (Auta) said,—“Um.” He (Snake) said,—“There is a daughter of the chief of (whom) the chief is very fond.” Then the Snake said,—“I shall enter into her stomach. All the learned men in the world will be assembled to attend to the girl, but she will not get well. But you, when you go, you will heal her.” He (Snake) said,—“I it is who will give you medicine with which to heal her.” He (Snake) said,—“When you go to this chief, you say your medicine is difficult (to obtain). The chief will say,—“What can be difficult to me?” You say,—“It will certainly be hard for you.” He will say,—“O youth, whatever the difficulty I will do (it).” “Very well, I want a white leper’s liver brought me at once.”” He (Snake) said,—“Now, when you have been brought the white leper’s liver, put (it with some) water in a pot. Give (it) to this girl that she may drink. Then she will be healed.” So the boy said,—“Very well.” Now the girl was playing with (amongst) the girls, her fellows, when the Snake started, and he crawled inside her stomach. Then the girl said to her fellows she had a stomach-ache, she was going home. Then the girls said,—“Let us go. The chief’s daughter is not well.” When she had gone home, she lay down, and her stomach (began) swelling, and swelling, and swelling, until it was like a storehouse. Then the chief arose, and (began) crying, and crying, and crying, and falling down and doing all kinds of things. Then the white leper whom the chief was fond of came and gave his advice. All the learned men in the town were summoned. Everyone gave (her) medicine, (but) it did no (good). The girl did not get better. (They) went to Faki Fatika, and called the learned men of the town. They came and gave (her) medicine. The girl got no better. Then this rich boy came with one old rag on. He had not (on) a good robe. So he came to the chief, and said,—“May your life be prolonged.”⁸² Then the white leper arose and hit him, and said,—“The chief’s daughter is ill. Have you, a wearer of rags, come (to bother him)?” Then he said,—“As for me I have come

⁸¹ These are the usual tasks, and occur in many stories.

⁸² A common salutation, corresponding to “O King, live for ever !”

to (give her) medicine." Then he (white leper) said,—“The learned men have not been able to. Are you, a wearer of rags, able to give (her) medicine?” But the chief said,—“No, no. Leave him alone. Everyone has the gifts that God has given him.” Then the chief said,—“Go with the white leper to where the girl is.” When he had come to the chief again, he said,—“Now, Chief, I know (have) an antidote, but my antidote is hard (to obtain).” He (chief) said,—“Tell me. However hard it is (it) will be brought, it will be obtained.” Then he said,—“I wish you to get me the liver of a white leper at once. Now here is a white leper with you. Will one go to the town to look for another?” Then the councillors beat the white leper in the hall until they killed him. He was seized (hands were put), and torn open. The liver was pulled out, and given to the boy. The boy said let some water be drawn for him, and put in a pot. When water had been poured in a new pot, it was brought to him. So he put the liver in it, and shook (it) up. Then he said,—“Give it (to) the girl to drink.” When it had been given to the girl, and she had drunk, she was taken short. The discharge would have filled (was like) Birnin Gwari.⁸³ The snake came out in this discharge, and went away. No one saw him. Then the girl arose and said let her be given porridge to eat. She said to give her flour and water to drink. She was given (some). She was also given kola-nuts, (and) she ate (them). Immediately the chief took the boy, he brought five horses and gave him, he brought five cloaks and gave him, he brought twenty pairs of trousers and dark blue robes and gave him. Then he separated off half of the town, and gave him. Then he (Auta) said,—“As for me, I do not want to live in the town. I am going home.” So he took his horses and possessions which he (the chief) had given him, and went to the forest. He overtook the Snake, and went home. Then he (Snake) said,—“O Boy, the treachery is done with. There remains only mine to you,”⁸⁴ so said the Snake. He (Snake) said,—“Now, look here, I am going to live in an ant-hill.” Then he (Auta) said,—“If you live in an ant-hill, how can I pay you?” (where is

⁸³ A town between Zungeru and Zaria, city of the Gwari people.

⁸⁴ The narrator could not tell me why this phrase was inserted. It may have been to account for the fact that snakes bite men for no apparent reason.

the thing which I shall do for you inside). He (Snake) said,—“When Sunday comes, you will give me a piece of meat.” He (Auta) said,—“Agreed, I understand.” So, when (the day when) Sunday came, the boy arose from his bed (sleep), and went out and saw a piece of meat in (the centre of) the house. So he took (it) and brought (it) to the ant-hill. Then he returned home. So every Sunday he (Auta) did thus for him. One day he went out of his room in the morning, (but) did not see a piece of meat in the house. Indeed the Frog had come and taken it in the early morning. As he had not obtained a piece of meat, the Snake arose and came to him. He (Snake) said to the boy,—“To-day (is) Sunday, (but) I have not seen (my) piece of meat.” He (Auta) said,—“I am now (upon) looking (for it). Must you get up and come (for it)?” He (Snake) said,—“Where is the one you always take from the centre of the house?”²⁵ He (Auta) said,—“Formerly I had some in the centre of the house. To-day, when I got up, I did not see (any). There are no more.” He (Snake) said,—“Indeed! Are there traitors in your house?” He (Auta) said he did not know. He (Snake) said,—“Will you give the traitors over to me that I may come and seize (them)?” He (Auta) said,—“Very well.” He thought (saw) that everyone was acting fairly to him. (So) he said,—“Very well. Who is there to be punished (to pay) amongst (them)?” The Snake said,—“Right. I shall go home and catch the traitor (when) he comes” (find him walking about). When he had gone, he hid behind (in) the door of the house. But he, the rich man, could not rest (remain in his house) until he had gone and reasoned with the Snake. He went out of the door of the house, and the Snake, who was by the door of the house, bit him. When he (Snake) had bitten him, he (Auta) went back into the house, and lay down. (His) leg was painful. Then the Frog came and said,—“What has befallen you, O Rich one?” He (Auta) said,—“Something bit (caught) me at the door of the house.” He (Frog) said,—“Whatever it be I shall go and see.” Then he went out hopping, and came to the door of the house, and the Snake bit him. So he went and lay down. The Frog died. He also, the rich man, died. That is the end of this. The Frog

²⁵ *i.e.*, where is the store of them from which you always take one?

brought this upon him. Because he took the meat he brought bad luck upon him.

A. J. N. TREMBARNE.

MANIPURI PROVERBS.

THE following twenty proverbs in use among the Manipuris have been collected by Mr. H. J. Wince, Headmaster of the Johnstone School, Imphal. An exact translation and the nearest English equivalent or an explanation follow each proverb.

J. SHAKESPEAR.

1. Cheiren chaphubu kainaba yeibra ?
Are the Cheiren pots beaten to break them? (*i.e.* Spare the rod and spoil the child. Cheiren is a place in Manipur where the best pottery can be obtained, and pots are beaten to shape them, not formed on wheels as in England).
2. Nungshit sittana una lengbra ?
Without the breeze blowing can the leaves tremble? (*i.e.* There is no smoke without there being a fire).
3. Leppa challaga phamba challi.
Phamba challaga hippa challi.
After providing standing room [he] wants sitting room; after sitting room he desires sleeping room, (*i.e.* The more he gets the more he wants).
4. Huinan macha challaga leiton leki.
If you show much affection for a pup he will lick the tip of your tongue, (*i.e.* Give him an inch, he'll take an ell. The Manipuris do not love dogs, but regard them as causes of defilement. This proverb is used when a mean or low man is encouraged and does not know where to draw the line).
5. Khong chotlaga chin chotli.
If you wet your feet (or legs) you wet your mouth. (The staple food of the Manipuris is fish, and to get it they have to get into water with their traps or nets.)

6. Hi ani tonglaga karāng segai.
When going in two boats, [one leg in each], you tear the fork
[of the leg], (*i.e.* Between two stools one comes to the
ground).
7. Nung anigi marakta hā onba.
You become a yam when placed between two stones, (*i.e.*
When a man acts as a go-between for two enemies he
is in danger of becoming unfriendly to both).
8. Tingkhangbu tingkhanghanba.
To get out one thorn [that has pierced you] by inserting
another [into the flesh], (*i.e.* Set a thief to catch a thief).
9. Ngaprum makhunda ngaprum thajinba.¹
To set one eel into the hole of another eel, (*i.e.* Set a thief to
catch a thief).
10. Uchi kallaktuna yum mei thāba.
Setting [one's] house on fire to spite a rat, (*i.e.* To cut off one's
nose to spite one's face).
11. Sabina mama noknaba.
A young mole laughing at its mother, (*i.e.* The pot calling the
kettle black).
12. Haudong tuminleiba chapu ngammi.
A quiet cat can [slyly] come and eat what the [rice] pot con-
tains, (*i.e.* Still waters run deep).
13. Sendāng nganna tābana machangchai.
The early sparrow gets the best rice to eat, (*i.e.* The early bird
catches the fattest worm).
14. Khumdrabadi yārabani.
If you do not reply, you are agreeable, (*i.e.* Silence gives con-
sent).
15. Una mahei yāllaga maru luki.
A tree that bears much fruit droops its head, (*i.e.* A big or

¹ This is found also in Primrose's list of Meithei proverbs, *Grammar*, pp. 91
et seq. T. C. H.

very clever person is always humble, but it is not so with foolish people, who are very proud).²

16. Huibu dolai tonghallaga thigang uraga chongthei.

A dog, when made to ride a palanquin, jumps down on seeing a dung-heap, (*i.e.* What's bred in the bones will come out in the flesh. Among the Manipuris riding a *paiky* is considered a great honour, as only certain people are permitted to do it).

17. Lamboibada samjet pibagum.

Like giving an ascetic a comb, (*i.e.* Casting pearls before swine. Hindu ascetics in Manipur shave their heads, so that a comb is thrown away on them).

18. Sal asibagi manakta leplaga prachit³ phangi.

When [found] standing near a dead cow you receive penance. (Hindus do not kill, but worship, the cow, so that, if they are found near others killing a cow, they are included among the company of evil-doers.)

19. Pena semlingeida Samuran yauba.

While tuning the *pena* (an instrument like a fiddle), I might have reached Samuran. (Samuran is a village in the south of Manipur near Wangoi, and the idea here is a protest against waste of time in profitless preliminaries.)

20. Khutta paiba itaūgi yāda hukpa eigi.

What I hold in my hands is my friend's, what I hold in my teeth mine, (*i.e.* A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush).

² Or, alternatively, a tree that bears much fruit has deep roots. T. C. H.

³ *Prachit* = *prajas chhitta*, a purificatory penance. The proverb means that you cannot touch pitch without being defiled, and also includes the idea that birds of a feather flock together. T. C. H.

ARMENIAN FOLK-TALES (*continued*).7. *The Dreamer*.¹

There was, and there was, a father, a mother, and a son. One evening the son goes to sleep. In the morning he rises, and says to his mother,—“Mother, I have dreamed a dream, but I will not tell it to you.”

“Why will you not tell it to me?”, the mother asks. He only repeats,—“I will not tell.” The mother gives her son a good beating.

Then the son goes to his father, and says,—“Daddy, (*Tato*), I have dreamed a dream. I would not tell it to my mother, and I will not tell it to you.” The father also beats the son. The son is vexed, and goes away. He goes a day’s journey. He meets a traveller, and says,—“Greetings.” “God give you a good day,” replies the traveller. “I have dreamed a dream,” says the youth. “I would not tell it to my mother, I would not tell it to my father, and I will not tell it to you.” He goes on his way.

He goes on until he meets a Prince. He accosts him, and says,—“Prince, I have dreamed a dream. I would not tell it to my mother, I would not tell it to my father, I would not tell it to the traveller, and I will not tell it to you.” The Prince seizes the youth, and casts him into a dungeon in his palace. The young man gets hold of a knife, and digs a hole through the wall, which lets him into the chamber of the Prince’s daughter. He sees the Princess fill a bowl with food, cover it with a lid, and leave the room. The young man goes and opens the lid, and cleans up the bowl, fills his belly, (satisfies his hunger), and returns to his dungeon.

One day passes like this; two pass; three pass; four pass. The young man eats up the Princess’s food, and she doesn’t know who takes it. Then, one day, the Princess puts butter in the bowl, and hides behind the flour-bin. The young man enters, and takes some bread and eats it. The Princess springs from her hiding-place, seizes him, and asks,—“Who are you?”

He replies,—“I have dreamed a dream. I would not tell it to my mother; I would not tell it to my father; I would not tell it

¹This is the fifth story in *Manana*.

to the traveller; I would not tell it to the Prince. The Prince cast me into prison. I dug with a knife, I came here, and you know the rest."

The Princess fell in love with the young man, and he with her. . . .

Now the King of the West comes to ask for the hand of the daughter of the King of the East to be given in marriage to his son. The King of the East is the afore-mentioned Prince. He sends a staff to the King of the East, both ends of which are alike, and he says,—“Which is the head, and which is the foot? Guess it if you can. If not, I will carry off your daughter.” The King enquires everywhere, but he cannot solve the riddle. But his daughter tells the young man who is in prison about it, and he says to her,—“Go tell your father to cast the staff into the lake. The heavy end will sink; that is the head. Let them break it open and see.” It is as the young man has said. They take the staff and go away.

The next day they send three horses just alike, and ask,—“Which is the yearling, which is the two-year-old, and which is the mother? Guess it if you can; if not, I will carry off your daughter.” They all set to work, but no one can solve the riddle. The King is at his wits' ends, and says,—“What shall I do?” The daughter goes to the young man, and says,—“They can't find it out. They are going to take me away.” The man says,—“Go tell your father to wet a bundle of clover, to sprinkle it with salt, and to place it before the horses in the evening. In the morning the mother will go ahead, the two-year-old will follow, and the yearling will come last.” So they find that out also, and send away the King of the West.

Then the King of the West sends a steel lance and a steel shield, and says,—“If he is able to pierce that shield with that lance, I will give my daughter to his son; but if he cannot, let him give his daughter to my son.” People come from every quarter, and the King tries also, but they cannot pierce it. The King says to his daughter,—“Go bring that young man here. Let us see him.” The young man comes. He takes up the steel lance, lays the steel shield on the ground, strikes it with the lance, and pierces the steel shield.

The King makes the young man his son. He sets out to go and bring the daughter of the King of the West.

He goes far, or he goes little. He sees a man with his ear to the ground. He asks him,—“Who are you?” “I am the man who can hear what people are saying in their houses,” he replies. “Oh, what a man!” the other exclaims, “He can hear what people are saying in their houses!”

“Do you think me a man? The man who could pierce a steel shield with a steel lance, *he* is a man!” The man says,—“Why, I am that man!” and the other replies,—“Then I will be your brother.”

They travel on together. They see a man with a millstone hung on each foot, and still he sets one foot in Khezan, and the other in Stamboul. Then the young man exclaims,—“Why, what a man! He has one foot here, and the other in Stamboul!” “Do you think me a man?” returns this man. “The man who could pierce a steel shield with steel, *he* is a man.” “Why, I am he!” “Then I will be your brother.” They go on, the three of them.

On they go, until they see seven millstones grinding, and one man eating, but still he is hungry, for he cries,—“O mother, O father, I am dying of hunger!” Then the young man exclaims,—“Why, what a man! He eats the grist of seven mills, and still he cries,—“I am dying of hunger.””

The man answers,—“Do you think me a man? The man who struck the steel shield with the steel lance, and pierced it, *he* is a man!” “Why, I am he!” “Then I will be your brother.” They go on.

They go on, and they see a man who has loaded a house upon his back, and is carrying it along. “Oh, what a man!” this young man exclaims. “He has loaded a house upon his back, and is carrying it!” The man answers,—“Do you think me a man? The man who pierces the steel shield with steel, *he* is a man!” “Why, I am that man,” he replies. “Then I am your brother!” and they go on together.

They go on until they see a man who is holding his mouth before a stream of running water. An ocean of water comes. The man drinks it up, but he cries,—“O mother, O father, I am dying of thirst!” Then this young man exclaims,—“Oh, what a man!

He drinks an ocean of water, and still he cries,—“I am dying of thirst!” And the other replies,—“Do you think me a man? The man who struck a blow with a steel lance and pierced a steel shield, *he* is a man!” “Why, I am that man!” “Then I am your brother!” And they go on.

They go on until they see a shepherd who is playing a pipe, while hill and dale, field and forest, men and beasts begin to dance. The young man exclaims,—“Oh, what a man! He causes hill and dale to dance!” And the other returns,—“Do you think me a man? The man who pierced steel with steel, *he* is a man!” “Behold, I am that man!” “Then I am your brother.” They go on.

They go on. There are seven of them now. They ask,—“Brother Steel-Lance-Steel-Shield, where are we going, please God?” “We are going to fetch the daughter of the King of the West.” “We wish you joy!”

They go on, and enter the palace of the King, to take the Princess. The King calls his men, and says to them,—“These are my relatives. They cannot eat even one bowl of food. Go bake twenty-one bakings of bread, and cook twenty-one kettles of soup. If they be able to eat it all at once, they may have my daughter; if not, we will not give her.”

Now these men were sitting in another room. The one who had his ear to the ground listened, and says,—“Aha, Steel-Lance-Steel-Shield, did you understand what the King said?”—“Why, knave! How can I know? I am not in his room.” “He says, what does he say?” he said. “He says,—“Twenty-one bakings of bread, twenty-one kettles of soup; if they eat it, they take my daughter; if they don’t eat it, they don’t take her.”” Then the one who ate the grist of seven mills says,—“Don’t be afraid. I will go ahead, and whatever bread they set before me, and whatever food they bring, I will eat it and say,—“O mother, O father, I am starving!” And they do this.

The King beholds it, and he cries,—“Alack! God spoil your homes! We must escape from these.” He calls his men to him, and says,—“Fill the room with fire, sprinkle it with ashes, and spread felt carpeting over all. In the evening, when they go in there, they will all be burnt up.”

The one who gives ear hears it, and says,—“Hey, Steel-Lance-Steel-Shield, did you understand what the King said?”—“No, how should I?” “He says, what does he say?” he said. “He says,—“Let us fill the room with fire? In the evening, when they go in, they will all be burnt up. Then to whom shall we give my daughter?”” Then the one who drinks water says,—“Let me go and get a good drink, and come and go before you. When we go into the room, I will put out the fire, and the room will be turned into a lake.”

In the evening the King calls them, and says their room is ready for them. Then the one who drinks water opens his mouth, and the room is filled with water. They are given another room.

The King is at his wits' ends. He calls his men. They all agree, saying,—“Wallah, whatever happens, we will not give up our Princess!”

The one who gives ear listens, and says,—“Aha, Steel-Lance-Steel-Shield, did you understand what the King said?”—“You knave,” he replies, “How should I know what he is saying?” “He says, what does he say?” he said. “He says,—“Whatever happens, I will not give up my daughter.””

The one who carries a house on his back says,—“Let me take the house and land on my back,” and he bends his back, and takes up the house; the shepherd plays upon his pipe, and hill and dale begin to dance; the one with the millstones hung on his feet leads the way, and they set out merrily.

The King weeps and begs,—“Only leave my house and land, and you may take my daughter, and may you enjoy her!” They put the house back in its place. The piper stops playing his pipe, and hill and dale become quiet. They take the Princess, and go. The other companions go each to his place, and the one who pierced the steel shield with the steel lance takes the Princess and comes to the palace of the King of the East. There he finds that his first wife has a son. He takes the other Princess for his wife also. When he goes to bed, he says,—“A sun on this side, a sun on that side, and a bright star above my heart.” The next morning he sends for his father and mother, and goes before the King, and says,—“Now I will tell you my dream.” They say,—

"What is it?" He replies,— "I saw a sun on one side of me, a sun on the other side, and a bright star above my heart." "Was that your dream?" they asked. "Yes, wallah, that was my dream."

Three apples came down from God,
One to the one who told it,
One to the one who asked for it,
And one to the one who gave ear to it.

8. *The Daughter of the Village Patriarch.*²

There once lived a village patriarch, M. Pazig by name, who was very rich. He wished to go to Jerusalem, and he set out with his wife and his son. He had also a grown-up daughter of matchless beauty, whom he left in the care of the chief man of the village.

Now it happened that this man fell in love with the girl; but, try as he might, he could not win her love. At last, however, with the help of a witch, he won her consent to marry him. The girl says to the man,— "Since this thing is to be, first let me give you a good bath." She makes a fine lather of soap-suds, and covers his eyes and nose and mouth with it. Then she takes up a mallet and beats the man soundly over the head and shoulders, and runs away.

The man is unable to see because of the smarting of the soap in his eyes, and, being dizzy from loss of blood, he falls down unconscious. When he is able to rise, he goes and gets washed and wiped, and then sits down to meditate upon the trick which was played upon him. He thinks to himself,— "She not only stood out against me, but she has made me the laughing-stock of old and young. What shall I do?" What he did was to write a letter to the girl's father, saying,— "You entrusted your daughter to me, but she has dealings with a hundred men a day."

When the father and mother received this letter, they put aside all thought of vows and pilgrimages, and started for home immediately. Two days before reaching the village, they send their son ahead to kill or destroy the girl. He arrives there, and says

² This is the seventh story in *Manana*. It is uncertain whether M. in "M. Pazig" is an initial or is borrowed from the French.

to his sister,—“My father and mother have come; let us go and meet them.” They mount a horse together, and ride to the top of a lonely crag. There they dismount, and, as they sit there resting, the girl falls asleep. The brother is loth to kill his sister, so he leaves her there and rides away. But he has previously taken a handkerchief from the girl’s bosom, and further on he kills a bird, and dips the kerchief in its blood.

He then goes to his father and mother and says,—“I have killed her, and I have brought you this as a proof.” The father and mother come home. The chief makes them believe his story.

After the girl had slept well, she awoke, but there was no sign of brother or anyone. She arose and beat about the thickets, searching for him. She wandered on, and on, until she was lost in the woods. By and by she came to a pond, and near it stood a cedar tree. She climbed to the top of the tree. After some time, she sees the son of the King of Vostan,³ come there hunting. He dismounted beside the pond. The sun cast the shadow of the cedar tree across the pond, and in it the shadow of a person could be discerned. Then the Prince peered among its branches, and saw a figure crouching there. “What are you, man or devil? Come down, or I will bring you down with my bow and arrow,” he cried.

Then the girl replied,—“I am no beast nor devil, but a human being like yourself. Why should you shoot me? I will come down, but I have no clothing, and I am a maiden. Take off your cloak, and leave it at the foot of the tree, and, when you withdraw, I will come down and put it on.” The girl came down and put on the cloak. The Prince returned, and saw a maiden so beautiful that one would rather gaze upon her than feast upon dainties. He mounted her upon his steed, and took her home with him. After that, what was hunting compared with being with her? A year or two passed.

The King urges his son, saying,—“Arise, go and see what Princess you like, and I will ask her in marriage for you.” The son replies,—“The maiden I brought is the one I wish.” The father and mother say,—“Son, who knows who she is, a girl found in the woods? Does she come of men, of devils, or of what?”

³ Near Lake Van.

But the son replied,—“I shall certainly marry her.” “The stain be upon your own forehead then,” say they. They betroth the girl; they have the wedding, and a year later God gives them two sons. Until this day the bride has never spoken to the bridegroom. One day the bride had put her babes in the cradle, and, as she rocked them, she would sing and weep by turns. Her husband chanced to see her, and he says,—“Wife, why do you weep? What is your sorrow?” Then she replies,—“Ah, do you never think that I also have a father and a mother somewhere, and that I have feelings, and that I miss them? I was not born of a stone. I did not grow upon a tree. I beg you, let me go and see my father and mother and return again.” The King’s son called his general, had the wagons prepared, and five hundred soldiers, and he commanded the general to conduct the lady to her father, and then return.

They went one day’s journey. At evening they camped beside a stream; they ate and went to rest. The general could not sleep. He had been smitten by the beauty of the lady. He sought her, and said,—“Either promise to be mine, or I will kill one of your sons.” “I will grant you nothing, even though you kill my son,” she replied. So the general killed one of her sons.

The next morning they mounted and rode on, and at night they made a halt. Again the general went to the lady; but she would not yield, and he killed the other child. The next night the general tried once more to force her to yield, and said,—“I have killed your two sons; I will kill you too.”

“May God punish you,” said the lady, “but let me go and bathe in the stream, and pray and confess unto God, and then return to you.”

The general tied a rope to her foot so that she should not escape. But she went to the edge of the stream, and slipping the rope from her foot tied it to a stump, and fled away. She met a shepherd, and she begged him to exchange clothing with her. He agreed, and they exchanged. She cut off her hair, put a tall felt cap on her head, and hastened to her father’s house.

M. Pazig is sitting at his gate, smoking a pipe. The stranger comes and kisses his hand, salutes him, and is saluted in return. M. Pazig asks,—“You fellow with the tall cap, where do you

come from, and what do you want?" "Sir, I have heard that you employ many labourers; engage me also and I will work for my bread." "Go, look after the poultry," he replies.

Let her remain here while we go back to the general. The general returned, and said to the King's son,—“Your wife killed her two sons, and ran away in the night.” Then the Prince takes the general and many soldiers, and sets out to seek his wife. They stop at the house of M. Pazig. They make many inquiries, but can learn nothing. As they are dining together in the evening, the Prince asks,—“Is there no story-teller here? Let us hear a story.” The poultry-herder hears the request, and says,—“I will tell a story.” M. Pazig objects, saying,—“It would be a shame. Don't let that dirty fellow appear before the Prince.” But the Prince hears of it, and says,—“Let him come; that is no matter.”

Then the fellow with the tall cap came and sat down, and said,—“I will tell a story, but the chief man of the village and the general must come and sit here. I will lock the doors, and no one must leave the room until I have finished my story.” They called the general and the chief. When they had come, the doors were locked, and then the story-teller began to tell all that had happened. When the chief was mentioned, he was taken with a sudden pain; when the general was mentioned, the general was taken with a sudden pain; but they were not allowed to go away till the story was finished. Then the story-teller turned, and said,—“You are my father, this is my brother, and this is my husband; that is the devil of a chief, and over yonder is the uncle of the devil, the general, and I am I.”

Then off goes the head of the general, and the chief is thrust through with a sword. Father and son, husband and wife, rejoice together.

Three apples fell from heaven.

J. S. WINGATE.

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

CALENDAR CUSTOMS OF THE BRITISH ISLES: REPORT OF THE "BRAND" COMMITTEE.

(*Ante*, p. 232.)

The Brand Committee have the pleasure to report to the Council of the Folk-Lore Society that satisfactory progress has been made in the carrying out of the arrangements for the proposed enlarged edition of the calendar portion of Brand's *Popular Antiquities*.

The appeal of the Committee for help has been widely and enthusiastically responded to, and, although further assistance is still required, the Committee are confident that they will receive such assistance in full measure. This hope is founded on the fact that the greatest interest in the scheme has been expressed both publicly and privately. A large number of contributors are engaged in extracting the necessary materials from many books in folklore literature. About twenty of the contributors have already sent in many valuable extracts. Mr. C. J. Billson has kindly lent an interleaved copy of Brand's work containing many valuable Ms. additions by the late Mr. William Kelly, F.S.A. Mr. Sebley has also sent additions of importance to Mr. Thiselton Dyer's *British Popular Customs*. Several friends of the undertaking have enlisted public interest by drawing attention to it in periodical literature; then the Rev. D. Beaton has made some valuable contributions to *John o' Groats Journal*, and Mr. Ernest Rhys has sent communications of importance to the *Manchester Guardian*. The Editor of the *Cheltenham Ladies' College Magazine* has inserted a letter giving an account of the project. All the resulting

contributions to our knowledge will be at the service of the Committee.

The work of the Committee has necessitated a considerable amount of correspondence, and the Committee wish to express their grateful thanks to Miss Eileen Keyser, who has given much valuable secretarial assistance. They regret that circumstances will prevent this lady from continuing her kind help, and will be glad of further help of the same kind from any member or friend, preferably one living in the N.W. London district.

The mass of materials which is now available for use, as well as that already promised, is considerable, and the Committee have every hope that they will obtain help from all parts of the Kingdom which will enable them to fill up the many deficiencies in Brand's work. It will also be possible to introduce into the book a more scientific method, so as to produce a work in which the various details will be seen to grow systematically owing to a more exact arrangement.

The more the Committee investigate the principles of the scheme, the more they appreciate the possibility of producing a work which, formed upon the research of many students, will be found to be of the greatest value to future workers in this field.

The Committee feel sure that it will be a great gratification to the Council to know that the need of the proposed revision of Brand's work is so widely appreciated. They hope shortly to be in a position to report more fully as to the arrangements to be adopted, when they can indicate certain branches of the subject for which special information is still required.

HENRY B. WHEATLEY

(For the "Brand" Committee).

"TOTEMISM AND EXOGAMY."

(*Ante*, pp. 362-74.)

Mr. Hartland's letter raises at all events one very serious proposition, which must be discussed separately if we are to gain anything from the facts of existing savagery upon the problems of totemism. Mr. Hartland says: "Now (*pace* Dr. Frazer) totemism

among the Arunta is not in full force, but manifestly in decay; and one of the symptoms of its decay is the relaxation or annihilation of the old bond of blood." Now, apart from the vexed question of the position of the Arunta tribe among the Australian peoples,—and I agree with Dr. Frazer's view, not with Mr. Hartland's,—is it true to say that "the relaxation or annihilation of the old bond of blood" is a sign of the decay of totemism? First let us strike out the qualification of "old" as applied to the bond of blood. Why does Mr. Hartland use it? It is against the evidence. The Australians have no term to express the relationship between mother and child (Frazer, *Athenaeum*, Sept. 4, 1909; Thomas, *Kinship and Marriage in Australia*, p. 124; Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 36 n.), and the most primitive of existing totem beliefs are to be found among kinless groups. Indeed, my study of the problems of totemism led me to the conclusion three years ago that totemistic society was kinless in its earliest stage, and was itself replaced, and only gradually replaced, by kinship society. Nothing has since disturbed this conclusion in my own mind. Indeed further research has confirmed it, as the Ms. notes to my *Folklore as an Historical Science* show.

Apart, however, from my conclusions, I would ask Mr. Hartland what proof he has for so connecting totem-formed groups with kinship-formed groups as to make them necessarily one and the same thing? He has himself taught us that fatherhood is largely unrecognized, and it is the fact that motherhood, physically recognized as it must be always, is not politically used among the rudest people,—that is to say, there are many peoples who are not kept together socially by the ties of motherhood, even though physical motherhood is well known. In these cases we must look, not for natural facts known to science, but for the conscious use which savage man has made of natural facts in the building up of his social progress. Kinship is certainly not one of his earliest conscious efforts at social formation.

The qualification of "old" bond of blood is therefore, to my thinking, unproven at present, and wants proving before it can be used in Mr. Hartland's sense and with Mr. Hartland's evident conclusion regarding its connection with totemism.

Further, why does Mr. Hartland use the terms "relaxation or annihilation" of the bond of blood? Surely there is no evidence of this in all we know of the Arunta people. If there is, it ought to be formulated categorically, so that it may be judged. I, at all events, have not been able to find any such evidence.

Of course these criticisms are only designed to help the cause of enquiry, and are not against Mr. Hartland's views specially. But I want to say this,—that we are all apt to use terms of science in connection with anthropological investigation which are not in accord with the facts we are investigating, and the influence of advanced terminology is fatal to correct investigation.

LAURENCE GOMME.

May I be permitted to discuss at no great length Mr. Hartland's paper on "Totemism and Exogamy," with which I have several points of agreement and of disagreement?

With Mr. Hartland (p. 363) I have always believed that Arunta totemism "is manifestly in decay," (or at least in a late, peculiar form); and I hold that every step in the process of decay, or of alteration from the normal type, can be easily and satisfactorily explained. If I am right, the whole edifice of the "conceptional" theory as the original form of totemism falls to the ground; its cornerstone is removed. The conceptional belief among the Arunta does not produce "a *kindred* group," which is part of Dr. Frazer's latest minimum definition of totemism; and the ideas of some of Dr. Rivers's Melanesian women are said by him to have no reference to the cause of conception (which is well understood), and produce no "group" at all, whether of kin or, as among the Arunta, of workers of the same rites.

I also agree with Mr. Hartland (p. 366) that "the noisome list" of peoples practising adelphic incest is hostile (I think fatal) to Dr. Westermarck's theory of sexual aversion among young camp-mates, whether brothers and sisters or not. I do not go into cases among Europeans, where white families live very remote from each other, because my evidence is matter of hearsay, and, I hope, mythical. In Australia, "local exogamy" has superseded the old rules through the localising influence of

reckoning descent in the male line. The "classes" become local communities; it is "a far cry" to the region where legal brides can be found, as Mr. Howitt shows in several instances, and the class system is abandoned. Mr. Strehlow prints an Arunta legend that the Arunta were once in the condition of the people of York Peninsula, and that the "classes" then occupied each its own region, of which the boundaries are named. This would naturally occur if the Arunta had the four or eight class system with paternal descent of class and totem.

Both Dr. Westermarck and I, as Mr. Hartland says, "reject the hypothesis of primitive promiscuity." I merely follow Darwin, whose postulate "cannot be granted," says Mr. Hartland. But I do not know why it is worse than the opposite guess that man was originally gregarious. Both views, I have repeatedly said, are guesses. If his jealous solitude has arrested the evolution of the gorilla, our brute ancestors were not gorillas; and Mr. Atkinson has sketched, I think, the probable way by which our advancing ancestors escaped from their solitude. Gregarious apes also had their evolution arrested,—if this means that they have not become human. I have heard that the male gorilla sleeps apart from his female mates, which looks as if he has taken a step in the right direction, but really about the intellect of the gorilla we seem to know very little. Give me original jealousy,—(its absence among some savages does not affect the question),—give me the solitary and hostile camps, and I can make a hypothesis of the origin of exogamy and totemism which has not a kink in it, and runs clean off the reel. But, on the opposite theory, what was the origin of exogamy? Why were any unions barred? Dr. Frazer resorts, as I once did, to some early superstition, but what was the origin of the superstition? Mr. Hartland, like Mr. Spencer, resorts to a felt need of organisation, of regulation "to prevent unceasing strife and the breaking up of the inchoate community" (p. 369). That is my own theory, but my community is the fire-circle, where the sire can easily execute his own Draconic rule. Mr. Hartland's inchoate community is the "horde," (apparently the local tribe). Now, if the horde was a fairly large community, men might find mates in it who were neither their mothers nor uterine sisters; unions with

them would not cause strife nor tend to break up the community. Moreover, if the new rule has the effect of keeping mothers from sons, brothers from sisters, why was it made as it is, on these lines? Manifestly because of a *previous* objection to these unions, and what was the cause of that objection? The union of brother and sister did no harm to the horde, that I can see. The peace which it broke was that of the family circle, which, in the conditions of Australia, lives much apart, and only meets the tribe on rare occasions. It appears to me that what Mr. Hartland's horde, "with the desire for a more or less durable possession" in "the rude beginnings of marriage," and "to prevent unnecessary strife," needed, was a law against adultery, not a law against incest. But the primary phratriac rule does not prevent adultery. It does prevent, not only mother to son and brother to sister unions, but large numbers of non-consanguineous unions, a rule which no community was likely to devise. People glided into it by a blunder, on my theory as on any theory, but by my theory the blunder caused no loss, in facility of wiving, to the men who made it.

Certainly "voluntary changes" have been made in the Australian tribes, and that in the matter of "fission," but these changes, in my view, were made on the model of the phratries, which I take to have been the result of a series of combinations beginning with the one totem to one totem rule. How else can you explain that rule? Mr. Hartland now recognises the importance of the totem names (p. 370). As far as I see we only differ in that he holds the groups which became totemic to have split off from the horde, locally; while I take them to have combined into the tribe, by a rather slow and easily traceable process of evolution. In several cases tribal legend speaks of exogamous fissions in the tribe being made, but, for all that I know, the legends are hypotheses. It does appear to me that, if the consanguinity of mother and children were recognised, the relation of mothers' children to each other could not have escaped notice. They were known, as in their Greek name, to be "of one womb."

I hold with Mr. Hartland that "the regulations were originally made knowingly, voluntarily, and for a purpose," namely by the sire in the camp; to secure the family peace; and also from

jealousy. Our differences are caused solely by my preference of the Darwinian hypothesis to the apparent "weight of argument" on the other side. I don't see that the balance of conjecture tips over against Darwin. Again (p. 374) I have been obliged to abandon my old opinion that the totemic taboo had any influence on exogamy, originally at least, for breach of rule of marriage entails no automatic penalty. The sin is a secular capital offence.

While Dr. Frazer holds that the primary phratric rule was meant to bar unions of mothers and sons and of brothers and sisters uterine, which, with many non-consanguineous unions, it does prevent; if I understand Mr. Hartland he thinks it was made to diminish by one half the opportunities for adultery. I may misconceive him, but I cannot accept the view as I understand it. The Australian's field of adultery is always as wide as his field of choice in marriage, and the injured husband is, if he pleases, his own avenger. The sin is not a secular capital offence against either the tribe or the phratry, or the totem kin, as is, or used to be, the breach of exogamous law.

We can never wholly agree while we start from opposite postulates. But if Mr. Hartland would construct a hypothesis colligating in sequence all the facts as he understands their evolution, from the primary rule made to diminish by one half the chances of strife caused by infringement of a man's right in his wife to the collapse of the whole system of exogamy, and explaining the normal division of the totem kins between the phratries, then his "suggestion" would thrive to the rank of a hypothesis.

A. LANG.

"MOMIA," A CEREMONY OF THE JEWS OF ALEPPO.

Sir Richard Burton, in the Appendix to his *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah* (ed. 1898, vol. ii., pp. 344-5), quotes from *The Navigation and vyages of Lewes Vertomannus, Gentelman of the citie of Rome, to the regions of Arabia, Egypte, Persia . . . In the yeare of our Lorde 1503* (Trans.

by Richarde Eden 1576), Book i cap. 14 (*The iourney to Mecha*), the following passage:—"I may not here omit to speake of the sea of sande, and of the daungers thereof. . . . In these sandes is founde *Momia*, whiche is the fleshe of such men as are drowned in these sandes, and there dried by the heate of the Saune: So that those bodyes are preserued from putrifaction by the drynesse of the sand; and therefore that drye fleshe is esteemed medicinable.³ Albeit there is an other kynde of more pretious *Momia*, which is ye dried and embalmed bodies of kynges and princes, whiche of long tyme have been preserued drye without corruption." He adds in a footnote,—³ "Wonderful tales are still told about this same Momiya (mummy). I was assured by an Arab physician, that he had broken a fowl's leg, and bound it tightly with a cloth containing man's dried flesh, which caused the bird to walk about, with a sound shank, on the second day." Dr. T. J. Pettigrew, in *A History of Egyptian Mummies etc.* (1834), cap. ii. (On Mummy as a Drug), states that in the sixteenth and part of the seventeenth century the trade in mummy was chiefly in the hands of the Jews of the East, that "the desiccated bodies of travellers lost in the desert, and buried beneath the sands, were equally with the mummies employed in medicine," and that "the Arabs to this day make use of mummy powder for a medicine. They mix it with butter and call it *mantei*" (p. 12).

In former papers¹ I have written of various curiosities of folklore in Jerusalem, Jewish, Christian, and Moslem, but, in spite of seven years' familiarity with the people of Palestine, I had encountered no trace of the survival of the belief referred to by Burton until I became acquainted in 1910 with the following circumstances in Jerusalem:—

A young girl, of a respectable Aleppan Jewish family, had become somewhat anæmic and hysterical. A long-continued course of *fantasias* (entertainments) given by the neighbour's family in an adjoining room disturbed her rest and increased her malady, and it became clear that energetic measures were necessary. The various lodgers were all Aleppans, and, *volens volens*, were expected to co-operate in the prescribed treatment.

The house was cleared of all inhabitants. Every nook and

¹ Vol. xviii., p. 52; vol. xv., p. 186.

corner was thoroughly scrubbed, every depository emptied, and every cistern cleansed. So far so good. Those who know the Jewish quarters of Jerusalem rejoice at any circumstance which enforces cleanliness. The patient, attended by an old woman only, kept silence and was confined to one room. This room, as well as all the others, was decorated with flowers and sweet-smelling herbs, while sweetmeats of various kinds were placed all over the house. (Another form of the *Momia* includes performances upon musical instruments by skilled players, introduced at intervals, and was happily not employed in the present instance.)

The climax of the treatment consisted in the purchase, under special conditions and at a high price, from a foreign merchant in the Spice Bazaar, of "the dried skin of a negro who had died in the desert," which was boiled, and the liquor given to the girl as medicine. Good results were reported. The father, an intelligent shoemaker, sensibly remarked that, seeing the girl was needing sleep and rest, the expulsion of the inmates for seven days and nights from the overcrowded house would probably have done her good, even without the rest of the ceremonial.

A. M. SPOER.

MOTHER-RIGHT IN EARLY GREECE.

(*Ante*, pp. 277-291.)

The following should be appended to the last sentence of paragraph one under *Traditional Genealogies etc.*, on p. 283, as a footnote to the words "why, among the numerous cults of heroic ancestors, do we hear so little of heroines; and, especially, why are few, if any, tribes or clans called after them."

"The only case I know of is the Argive and Epidaurian tribe Hymethia, named apparently from the heroine Hymetho; and the evidence for this is weak. (Grote, *History*, vol. ii., p. 280, quotes besides Steph. Byz., only *Pausanias*, Bk. ii., xxviii. 3, which mentions merely a place called Hymethion.)"

H. J. ROSE.

With Mr. Rose's "On the Alleged Evidence for Mother-Right in Early Greece" I agree completely except in one important and dubious matter. He does not notice Prof. Murray's statement that, "if we may believe some of the ablest of modern investigators," the ancient worship of the Korê, (who may be a bride and a mother,) "was bound up with the influences of daily domestic life" among the pre-Hellenic peoples (*The Rise of the Greek Epic* (1907), p. 74). The Achæans were patrilineal and patriarchal. Among the pre-Hellenic peoples "the father did not count, at least not primarily, in the reckoning of relationship. He did count for something, since exogamy, not endogamy, was the rule." The last statement I do not understand, but how do we know that "exogamy was the rule," and that pre-Hellenic Greece was matrilinear? I do not think that the legendary sons "ruling anywhere but in their fathers' kingdoms" suggest exogamy, which, of course, has nothing to do with marriages of women to foreigners, any more than do the marriages of European Royal Families or of the Norman adventurers. But investigators who differ from Mr. Rose and me think that the foreign marriages of the wandering princes in *märchen* are traces of exogamy.

As to naming eldest sons after the paternal grandfather, it has been the unbroken rule in my family for two centuries or more, and is *not* "a direct result of our belief in reincarnation combined with matrilinear exogamy."

What I do not feel sure of is (p. 277) that "the form of family in which the wife does not leave her old home but stays there with her children, being simply visited by the husband," is "very early." Are there examples of this rule in Australia? With reckoning in the female line the young men do not "go too far away" to seek a bride. People of each phratry and totem kin, the accessible brides, are all near neighbours, all mixed up together, under a matrilinear reckoning. Their local segregation occurs only under male reckoning of descent of totem and phratry.

A. LANG.

SOMERSETSHIRE FOLKLORE.

We often say that folklore is fast dying out, and must be collected before it vanishes. Though this is true enough, we are apt to forget that, nevertheless, folklore is still living and growing about us, and is capable of new developments in spite of the march of our boasted twentieth century knowledge. Proof of this came before me while I was staying at Glastonbury this summer. My informant was a gentleman of Glastonbury, who is assisting Mr. Bligh Bond in the excavations which are being carried on at the site of the Abbey.

Since these excavations have been in progress, those working on them, as well as visitors, have frequently smelt incense at various spots, and experts say that it is not the scent of the incense in use at the present day. My informant told me that he had been sceptical about this till one day he suddenly got a whiff of incense as hot and strong as if a burning censer had been swung in his face, and his clothes smelt of it even afterwards.

Rationalists say that the excavations have disturbed spots where the Abbey censers were emptied after use, and, as the gums of which incense is made are practically indestructible, we need not be surprised that the scent is still perceptible.

Again, on more than one occasion visitors staying in Glastonbury have remarked on the beautiful peal of bells they had heard during the night, and on being questioned said it was a peal of twelve bells. There is no peal of bells in Glastonbury or its neighbourhood now, but an examination of old records showed that the Abbey had a peal of twelve bells. These ghostly Abbey bells have also been heard by people returning late at night to Glastonbury.

There is no tradition of bells being heard in Glastonbury, and believers point out that this story, and that of the incense as well, have originated since the site of the Abbey has again become Church property. Of course, in the case of the incense, this is discounted by the fact that it is since then that excavations have taken place. But it is clear that the halo of legend, which has always hung round Glastonbury, is proof against modern scepticism.

The same spot gives an instance of the persistence of tradition. The knowledge of the old pilgrim route, of which there is documentary record, is also preserved traditionally, and pilgrimages are still made. The route leaves Glastonbury Abbey by the road towards Street, crosses the Brue by a bridge, and turns round to the south of Weary-all Hill. Thence it leads up to the top of Glastonbury Tor, and so down and back to the Abbey. There are certain hawthorns on the way on which white rags are tied, and from the bridge over the Brue the pilgrims throw a piece of lead or small coin into the river in order that their sins may be removed. Tradition says that this spot is the place where Arthur threw away Excalibur. (Whether this is a variant of the story of the "bold Sir Bedivere" or a lapse on the part of tradition is not quite clear.) There may very well have been a mere in the neighbourhood in Arthurian times. There are features about this pilgrimage which suggest that it may preserve pre-Christian elements.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

VIRGINS' GARLANDS.

(*Ante*, p. 321.)

May I add to Miss Moutray Read's note that one of the seven garlands at Minsterley was exhibited at the Church Congress at Stoke-upon-Trent in October last (1911). Garlands are also recorded as having formerly existed at Shrawardine, Little Ness, and Hanwood, in Shropshire. That at Astley Abbots in the same county, to the memory of Hannah Phillips, 1747, was there in 1884, and probably still remains.¹

C. S. BURNE.

¹ *The Book of Days* (1864), vol. i., p. 274, states that a number of garlands had been removed from the church at Heanor (Derbyshire) "not many years ago," and writes of the custom as still existing at Llandoverly.

REVIEWS.

THE GOLDEN BOUGH. A Study in Magic and Religion. By J. G. FRAZER. Third edition. Part I. The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. xi + 417; xxxii + 426. Front. Part II. Taboo and the Perils of the Soul. 8vo, pp. xv + 446. Part III. The Dying God. 8vo, pp. xii + 305. Macmillan, 1911.

La nouvelle édition du *Golden Bough* de M. J. G. Frazer comprendra, d'après les dernières annonces de la maison Macmillan, sept parties dont les quatre premières, en cinq volumes à dix shillings, sont parues : I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* ; II. *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* ; III. *The Dying God* ; IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, en deuxième édition ; V. dont le titre n'est pas encore connu ; VI. s'intitulera *The Man of Sorrows* ; et VII. *Balder the Beautiful*.

L'idée primitive a été conservée. C'est-à-dire que la recherche du Rameau d'Or fournit toujours encore le fil d'Ariane au travers du labyrinthe des faits décrits et interprétés. Il m'est bien difficile de juger aujourd'hui du plus ou moins de commodité de ce plan ; car si je ne connais pas autant de faits que M. Frazer, ou si parfois je ne connais pas les siens, en en connaissant d'analogues qu'il ignore, j'en sais assez pour n'être nullement gêné par les allées et venues, par les détours et retours du fil ; et sans doute ma petite lanterne, si elle ne peut éclairer du haut en bas les voûtes du dédale, me donne au moins assez de lumière pour que je puisse voir, aux croisées et dans les creux d'ombre, la mince raie blanche qui est la sauvegarde du lecteur.

Et l'on me permettra de généraliser en partant de cette expérience personnelle. Car enfin, un savant n'est pas tout simplement

une machine cérébrale : c'est un homme tantôt bien portant, tantôt malade, parfois très occupé par les nécessités matérielles de la vie, parfois plus occupé encore par les conventions mondaines, et enfin attelé lui-même, pour des jours, des semaines ou des mois, à quelque charrue avec laquelle il espère labourer une parcelle du champ scientifique afin d'y semer ensuite, et d'y faire lever, une moisson qu'il espère, sinon toujours grandiose, du moins utile. Dans ces conditions, les gros livres de théorie font peur, alors que les gros livres d'observations inédites ravissent d'enthousiasme. Si donc les gros livres de théorie traitent de sujets incomplètement familiers, et que par suite la lecture ou l'utilisation en soit laborieuse, le lecteur sera porté, par une transposition psychologique courante, à accuser l'auteur de n'avoir pas su s'expliquer. Il me semble que dans aucune autre discipline scientifique, les efforts du débutant ne sont aussi pénibles qu'en ethnographie et en folklore. Même nos manuels, même nos traités théoriques supposent déjà une masse énorme de connaissances préalables.

De plus, la complexité des faits ethnographiques, religieux ou folkloriques, comme d'ailleurs de tous les faits sociaux, rendra toujours difficile la lecture suivie de tout ouvrage à caractère synthétique comme l'est le *Golden Bough*, puisque les documents y sont utilisés et classés afin de déterminer ce qu'on peut appeler des catégories mentales et culturelles. Mais un lecteur intelligent ne confondra pas la difficulté du sujet et une maladresse possible de l'auteur.

De bien des côtés on a fait au plan de M. Frazer des objections de principe assez graves. Comme le *Golden Bough* est en somme représentatif d'un procédé particulier d'exposition, on me permettra d'insister davantage dans la présente analyse sur cet aspect méthodologique, plutôt que de prendre un à un les raisonnements de détail de M. Frazer et de les soumettre à une critique qui d'ailleurs exigerait la production des documents et qui se trouve toujours mieux à sa place dans un livre. M. Frazer prend un thème X , qu'il décompose en ses éléments A, B, C, D , etc. Puis, il soumet à l'analyse chacun de ces éléments et pour les interpréter il recherche le plus possible de parallèles typiques a, a', a'', a''', a'''' ; puis ax, ax', ax'', ax''' , etc. Ensuite il passe à B et étudie b, b', b'', b''', b'''' , puis bx, bx', bx'' et ainsi de suite presque

à l'infini. De sorte que le schéma de l'œuvre rappelle un arbre généalogique à ramifications d'autant plus nombreuses que la frondaison s'étend ; pour revenir à l'un ou à l'autre des points déjà examinés, il suffit de suivre le rameau, la branchette, la branche, le tronc, et de remonter d'un autre côté.

Ceci n'est pas une méthode, mais un simple procédé littéraire, une technique d'exposition. Qu'il en existe d'autres, cela va de soi ; et quiconque, ayant un livre à écrire, établit son plan doit au préalable se décider pour ce procédé là ou pour tel autre qu'il jugera plus conforme au but poursuivi. Le critique a à examiner si le plan adopté a été conservé, s'il a été exécuté en son entier, et si le but a été atteint. Que M. Frazer soit sans reproche, quiconque connaît la haute conscience avec laquelle il travaille le conçoit sans peine.

Mais le système d'explications à l'aide des parallèles est-il admissible, a-t-il une valeur de démonstration réelle ? C'est ici que les critiques et les savants ne sont plus d'accord. J'éliminerai d'abord une objection que vient de formuler un professeur à l'université d'Utrecht, M. Visscher : il dit qu'il considère ces ouvrages de collection à la mode anglaise comme inutiles et même nuisibles parce qu'ils empêchent de recourir aux documents originaux. Ceci est tout simplement enfantin. Car M. Frazer n'empêche pas, mais au contraire facilite ce recours aux sources puisqu'il donne toujours en note tous les renseignements bibliographiques avec un soin méticuleux qui parfois semble même pénible. Nuire à qui ? Au jeune homme qui voudra écrire, pour un journal ou une revue, un article anecdotique ? Encore se peut-il que ce jeune homme aille tout de même dans une bibliothèque chercher des compléments de détail et devienne ainsi une recrue nouvelle pour nos sciences. Le grand mérite des ouvrages de collection est donc de vulgariser d'une manière sincère et directe les résultats des enquêtes ethnographiques locales. Quant aux savants, ils ont leur bibliothèque et leurs propres sujets de recherche ; ils ne se laisseront pas détourner de l'étude des sources par des résumés ; ils seront reconnaissants à M. Frazer, je parle par expérience, de fournir des points de départ soit documentaires soit bibliographiques. On rencontre souvent en chemin quelque point secondaire dont il faut indiquer le sens exact ou signaler

l'existence générale, mais auquel on n'a ni le temps ni l'intention de consacrer de longues recherches; dans ce cas des volumes comme ceux de Hartland, Frazer, Westermarck, etc., sont proprement des bouées de sauvetage.

Vient ensuite l'opinion des spécialistes, tels que les collaborateurs de l'Année Sociologique et d'Anthropos, pour ne citer que les périodiques qui ont pris une attitude d'opposition. On y prétend que ces chevauchées à travers les populations, ces randonnées, ces accumulations énormes sont l'expression d'une méthode scientifique défectueuse, et ne servent exactement à rien. Ce serait la dernière étincelle d'une méthode morte, celle de Bastian.

Cette fois je suis partie dans le débat: car les critiques adressées à l'école anglaise de Tylor, Frazer, Lang (*Myth, Ritual, and Religion*), Hartland (*Legend of Perseus et Primitive Paternity*), Crawley (*Mystic Rose*), Clodd, etc., m'ont été adressées aussi avec véhémence à propos de mes *Rites de Passage* et au point que récemment le P. Schmidt m'a accusé ni plus ni moins que d'un triste recul, sinon même d'une dégénérescence scientifique. Cela me donne le droit d'affirmer l'avantage de cette méthode des parallèles et en me justifiant, de justifier s'il en est besoin les savants anglais énumérés.

Soit un fait localisé dans le temps et dans l'espace, il y a d'abord deux manières de l'étudier, également légitimes, à savoir, I° dans le lieu, pour indiquer les rapports de ce fait avec tous les autres faits contemporains localisés dans ce même lieu; II° dans le temps, afin de définir les rapports de ce fait avec des faits antérieurs. En combinant ces deux méthodes, on situe le fait à la fois historiquement et géographiquement dans son milieu propre. Puis on étudie d'autres faits de la même manière, et on les classe en série à l'aide de la méthode historico-culturelle. De proche en proche on délimite ainsi toute une série de cycles.

Mais ce n'est encore là qu'étudier les faits incomplètement. Car ils peuvent avoir tous en commun certains éléments qui sont indépendants à la fois du temps et du lieu, et qui tiennent à la nature essentielle des faits même. Si par exemple ce sont des croyances, l'essentiel est un élément psychologique lequel à son tour dépend d'un élément de race, qui enfin est l'expression de

la qualité spécifique, c'est-à-dire l'humanité. Si c'est un salaire, l'élément essentiel sera un rapport entre des évaluations, lesquelles sont une opération mentale et ramènent de nouveau à une base psychologique indépendante des conditions locales et spatiales. Et ainsi de suite pour tous les faits, car en minéralogie il y a aussi la détermination locale puis la détermination spécifique ; le minéral devient alors l'objet de l'analyse pétrographique, laquelle ne s'occupe pas du lieu de découverte, mais étudie le corps uniquement pour ses composantes. De même encore, on peut étudier les mœurs locales d'un insecte déterminé, et le soumettre dans son milieu naturel à des expériences ; ou bien on peut le transplanter dans divers milieux artificiels ou naturels, et étudier son *behaviour* selon la variation des circonstances ; enfin on peut considérer cet insecte en dehors de toute condition de lieu, le tuer et le disséquer de façon à définir son système nerveux ou toute sa structure dans le but d'acquérir, en répétant cette recherche avec tous les autres insectes connus, une notion précise d'une espèce particulière, ou d'une famille ou d'un genre.

Espèce, famille et genre sont des notions qui sont indépendantes à la fois de l'espace et du temps, et je prétends que dans nos sciences de l'homme, nous avons non seulement le droit, mais le véritable devoir de nous élever de proche en proche de l'individuel, du particulier, du localisé et du temporisé jusqu'aux notions de plus en plus générales que les sciences naturelles s'enorgueillissent de poursuivre. Appelons ces résultats généraux concordances comme en linguistique, ou parallèles, ou *Voelkergedanke*, ou lois mentales, ou lois sociales, ou schémas comme je l'ai proposé provisoirement : cela n'importe guère. Il n'y a de science que du général, disaient les scolastiques, et nous ajoutons aujourd'hui : et du permanent.

Quand on veut découvrir les concordances, les permanences, les lois mentales, sociales, culturelles, littéraires, il n'y a pas d'autre méthode possible que la comparaison, et le plus étendue possible. Un savant consciencieux rencontrant un fait actuel commencera naturellement par s'enquérir des conditions de temps et de lieu auxquelles il est soumis, mais pour éliminer précisément les éléments locaux et historiques ; il reste alors un résidu qui est essentiellement psychique ou social, et c'est la comparaison de

ces résidus entre eux qui permettra la systématisation proprement scientifique.

M. Frazer et les savants anglais cités, et avant eux Mannhardt et Bastian, cherchent à déterminer des généralités et des concordances. Ce travail est ardu et difficile, parce que les facteurs qui interviennent dans la formation et le développement des mentalités, des civilisations et des sociétés humaines sont en nombre considérable et sont toujours complexes, de sorte que quand l'auteur veut décrire et interpréter, il se heurte à des difficultés matérielles d'exposition. Il faut bien se dire qu'un fait social ou mental ou culturel n'est pas comme une feuille de papier mince qu'il suffit de retourner alternativement sur ses deux faces pour la définir et la décrire. Mais ce fait est comme un diamant taillé en rose, à facettes innombrables et différentes. Encore y a-t-il toujours plusieurs facettes qui restent cachées à l'observateur et d'autres qui paraissent simples, mais qui sont décomposables à leur tour en facettes plus petites à l'aide d'un nouvel instrument inventé tout exprès et plus puissant.

Le *Golden Bough* est un magnifique essai de description de plusieurs de ces diamants. Ceux qui préfèrent se contenter d'étudier une unique facette leur vie durant, ou seulement un ou deux diamants, sont libres : leur travail sera utile, il est même nécessaire. Mais ce qu'on leur dénie, c'est le droit de critiquer ou de bafouer ceux qui ont une ambition plus haute. L'ambition de M. Frazer est précisément plus haute, et il n'y a qu'à l'en remercier.

Ce qui ne signifie certes pas que je sois d'accord avec l'auteur dans chaque discussion de détail, ni que ses preuves ne m'apparaissent souvent que comme des présomptions. Dans la Préface à la troisième édition, M. Frazer a d'ailleurs bien soin de dire qu'il ne considère aucune de ses généralisations comme valable d'une manière universelle et absolue, mais qu'il a étudié dans leur évolution probable diverses catégories de faits bien définies. C'est l'attitude qui convient.

En ce qui concerne les rapports de la religion et de la magie, divisée en sympathique et en contagieuse, je m'en tiens aux idées que j'ai exprimées en rendant compte de *The Early History of the Kingship*. On pourrait aussi distinguer une magie allopathique,

et ainsi de suite, conformément au classement adopté par les théoriciens de l'association des idées (voir G.B., part I., vol. I., pp. 52-54 et passim, surtout page 112 et suiv.). Pour la note de la page 111, sur la magie négative je signale de nouveau à M. Frazer que la préface de mon *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar* est datée : Clamart, avril, 1903.

Je ne vois pas d'utilité à discuter longuement les innombrables faits que je crois pouvoir expliquer plus simplement que l'auteur par ma théorie du schéma de passage, tels que le passage du magicien au roi et les rites de couronnement (part II., page 17). M. Frazer ne discute pas la généralité du rite du refus, (page 101 et suiv.); un grand nombre de rites sont expliqués par sa théorie animiste, par exemple la crainte de l'étranger et les cérémonies de réception des étrangers, ainsi que les cérémonies de départ en voyage et de retour; j'ai beau lire et relire ici M. Frazer, je ne comprends pas qu'il se contente d'interprétations aussi naïves. Même observation (pages 138 et suiv., 145 et suiv.) pour la discussion des tabous concernant les femmes enceintes ou accouchées, les guerriers, les jeunes gens pendant l'initiation. L'explication du tabou de la chasteté sexuelle est bien plus complexe que n'imagine M. Frazer, qui devrait lire les ouvrages de Forel, Naëcke, Freud, Ellis, etc., sur la psychologie sexuelle. Plus loin, il y a lieu de créer une catégorie de tabous de métiers, parfois enchevêtrés dans des cérémonies de passage, attendu qu'on ne peut séparer arbitrairement les seuls pêcheurs et chasseurs. Le chapitre sur "les choses tabouées" n'appelle guère d'observations générales, sinon que chaque série peut appartenir ou non à des séries plus vastes : ainsi, couper les cheveux rentre dans la grande série des mutilations corporelles. Le chapitre VI. traite des tabous linguistiques. Ici aussi M. Frazer se place uniquement au point de vue anecdotique et descriptif : ces faits linguistiques constituent une normale particulière, qui ne devient intelligible que par l'étude parallèle du mécanisme des argots et en général des langages spéciaux ; quant aux changements de nom ils appartiennent à la série des changements de costume, de nourriture, de femme, etc. Le fait curieux, c'est que M. Frazer a dédaigné l'article de Lasch sur les tabous linguistiques des groupes, mais je ne lui reproche pas d'ignorer les recherches

de Cabaton sur ces mêmes tabous en Indochine et en Indonésie.

La troisième partie est consacrée à la mortalité des dieux, aux cérémonies de la mise à mort des rois divins, à l'obtention des rois destinés à être tués, chapitre qui comprend une excellente étude sur la crainte ou le mépris de la mort chez les divers peuples, bon exemple d'ethnographie psychologique. Dans le même sens est conçu le chapitre VII. sur la succession de l'âme.

Quant au dernier chapitre il nous ramène à une catégorie bien connue : les rites de mise à mort de l'esprit de la végétation. L'ancienne collection de M. Frazer s'est encore enrichie ; il n'y manque plus guère que les sources en langues slaves. Le fait étudié en appendice, à savoir le balancement comme rite magique, a été mieux étudié, et surtout expliqué, par Havelock Ellis. En général, sur bien de points de détail, Westermarck a apporté de bonnes interprétations, dont M. Frazer ne tient pas compte.

Sont également ignorées les interprétations récentes de Lang ou de Preuss ou de Marett. Il est visible que cette ignorance des théories d'autrui est voulue et systématique ; il semble que seule la mort fasse trouver grâce, bien que je ne voie nulle part les discussions théoriques que méritent des hommes comme Liebrecht ou Mannhardt ou Bastian. La vie est courte, et l'ethnographie est immense : d'accord ! Les neuf dixièmes des théories n'ont qu'une valeur d'actualité ; d'accord aussi ! Il est difficile, dans ces conditions, à la fois de recueillir des faits et de mettre à l'épreuve des théories : d'accord toujours !

Mais . . . enfin je ne sais trop que dire. En premier lieu, Bastian, ou Liebrecht, ou Salomon Reinach, ou Preuss, ou Westermarck sont des savants qui en tant de directions ont fait leurs preuves, que discuter leurs opinions, ce n'est pas tant rendre hommage à leur qualité individuelle que rendre hommage à la science même.

Cette omission a quelque chose d'étrange, que peut-être je ne ressens aussi vivement que parceque je suis omis dans le tas : pourquoi m'en cacher ? J'avoue sincèrement que si je fais bon marché de mes autres livres, mes *Rites de Passage* sont comme un morceau de ma chair, et furent le résultat d'une sorte d'illumination interne qui mit subitement fin à des sortes de ténèbres ou

je me débattais depuis près de dix ans. Je suppose que ce processus mental, bien d'autres que moi l'ont subi ou le connaissent. Pour un Tylor ou un Westermarck ou un Bastian ou un Max Müller tel livre de théorie générale, même de facture froide en apparence, exprime d'intenses révolutions mentales ; je crois même que si la collection des faits peut laisser l'homme calme et serein dans son cerveau et sa chair, par contre le moindre essai de théorie, même sur un petit point de détail, excite les fibres les plus profondes de l'être. De là souvent l'âpreté des polémiques théoriques, comme si la vie du théoricien dépendait, plus ou moins selon les hommes et leur tempérament, de l'admission par les confrères et le public de la théorie proposée.

L'absence de toute indication et de toute discussion des théories d'autrui dans le *Golden Bough* est comme contraire à la normale des sciences et des savants. Mais je ne veux pas poursuivre un argument qui appartiendrait plutôt à un essai de psychologie du savant par tempérament. C'est le droit absolu de M. Frazer de ne vouloir recourir qu'aux documents de première main, de n'entamer aucune discussion d'idées générales, de se refuser à toute polémique, et de rééditer inlassablement ses propres théories inductions et hypothèses, sans jamais tenir compte des objections qu'on leur fait. Tout ceci est uniquement affaire personnelle.

Mais ce qui n'est plus personnel, c'est la question de savoir si la science y gagne ou non. Le *Golden Bough* est certainement un mur de fondation cimenté à la romaine, c'est-à-dire pour des siècles. J'ai vu récemment en Algérie des murs romains supporter de la maçonnerie byzantine, puis au dessus berbère (hammadite), puis turque, puis enfin française. De même, nous avons tous construit sur les éditions successives du *Golden Bough* comme sur du Bastian ou du Tylor, M. Frazer ayant lui-même construit sur du Mannhardt, du Bastian et du Robertson Smith. Mais cela ne signifie-t-il pas que notre civilisation moderne est techniquement supérieure à la civilisation romaine, et que nos constructions scientifiques sont techniquement supérieures à celles de nos devanciers ? Le *Golden Bough* s'est étendu en largeur : s'est-il élevé en hauteur, quand aucun des essais d'interprétation postérieurs ne s'y trouve, je ne dis pas adopté, ce serait sans doute trop demander, et avec trop d'outrecuidance, mais même discuté ?

Quand je vois les variations (au sens musical) de M. Frazer sur la théorie animiste d'explication, et ce doux entêtement avec lequel rite après rite et cérémonie après cérémonie sont expliqués par des départs de l'âme, ou des retours de l'âme, ou des dangers pour l'âme, ou des bienfaits pour l'âme, et ainsi de suite, je me sens ahuri: le mot n'est pas trop fort. Sans connaître, à fond et en détail, chacun des progrès récents de la science, et dès leur apparition, il suffit de savoir qu'il existe divers grands courants actuels d'interprétation, soit d'après la méthode sociologique, ou historico-culturelle, ou néo-astrale, et ainsi de suite, pour éprouver en présence de la sérénité de M. Frazer à s'en tenir uniquement aux interprétations plus anciennes, comme un sentiment de stupéfaction.

Ces volumes étant trop volumineux pour les discuter pas à pas, trop touffus de faits et de transitions adroites pour permettre la critique par affirmations et négations simples, le grand public se persuade de trouver dans ce vaste trésor le dernier mot de la science et suspecte toutes les autres théories de faiblesse ou peut-être même de retard.

Je me suis exprimé avec franchise: comme je l'ai dit, une théorie c'est un homme, c'est-à-dire quelque chose qui adhère à une existence humaine, alors que les faits mêmes vivent à part, ne vivent ni dans notre cerveau ni dans nos muscles. Il en est ainsi, sans doute, aussi de M. Frazer, et cela explique pourquoi il tient tant à ses propres théories, et ne permet pas aux théories d'autrui de venir déranger le bel équilibre des constructions idéales dont il a apporté et agencé lui-même les matériaux bruts avec une patience inlassable et un soin digne d'admiration.

A. VAN GENNEP.

RELIGIONS MŒURS ET LÉGENDES: ESSAIS D'ETHNOGRAPHIE
ET DE LINGUISTIQUE. (Troisième Série.) By ARNOLD VAN
GENNEP. Paris: Mercure de France, 1911. 8vo.

THIS volume appears to be the third of a series (of which I have not had the advantage of seeing the earlier numbers), in which

M. van Gennep has collected some of the results of his extensive and frequently recondite learning. Of the essays included, a few at all events, possibly all, have already appeared in periodicals inaccessible to the great body of folklore students; and the author has done well to reprint them in a more permanent form, and thus to appeal to a wider public.

In the earlier essays he recalls the fact that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a succession of writers in France (among whom was the great Montesquieu) laid the foundation of the modern science of ethnography before the subject attracted attention elsewhere. An extended analysis is given of Demennier's work published in 1776 and entitled *L'Esprit des usages et des coutumes des différents peuples*. This analysis is of great interest, disclosing as it does an astonishingly modern appreciation of the value of comparison between the customs of the various peoples in the lower culture, and a width and catholicity of research quite unexpected. In another essay the author gives an account of the new Ethnographic Museum opened five years ago at Cologne. The nucleus of this museum was furnished by the collections of the late Dr. W. Joest. The building was erected by the munificence of the Rautenstrauch family, with which Dr. Joest was connected by marriage; and the collections have been arranged by Dr. Foy, the director. M. van Gennep's account is such as to whet the desire of every student to go and study the museum and its contents for himself. On these facts he bases a powerful claim for the recognition of Ethnography by the French government and universities in a much more ample measure than hitherto; and he does not forget to allege the examples not only of Germany, but also of England and the United States.

Some of the essays are controversial. Among others he combats with much force the revival by Wundt and Ehrenreich of the sun-myth and other crude and dogmatic interpretations of mythology, which were dead, if not buried, twenty years ago. Elsewhere he shows how the legends of saints and martyrs supplied during the Middle Ages the human hunger for romance, and contends that the modern indifference to these imaginative tales has been largely due to the development of the *roman-feuilleton*.

The last part of the volume, (more than one-fourth of its total contents), is occupied by the results of some of his enquiries in Haute-Savoie, others of which have been published in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* and elsewhere. Here the author is chiefly occupied with the songs of the peasantry, though marriage and other customs are also included. He uses the term *populaire* as implying no affirmation of origin, but simply as meaning "current among the people," the origin being forgotten or unknown by those who repeat the songs. "It is wrong to think that a collectivity invents or creates. Whenever the analysis is pushed far enough, one individual, or at most a few, will be found as the source of the inventions or modifications of every kind. To say then of a song that it is a popular Savoyard song does not mean that it is the Savoyard collectivity as a whole, or any small Savoyard collectivity, that has invented it." It simply means that it is current among the Savoyards. But how in that case shall we interpret what he says in the preface concerning Perrault's tales? In spite of chapbooks and broadsides containing coarse engravings and summaries of so many of these tales, which were disseminated throughout Central Europe in the early part of the last century, neither Perrault's tales nor those of his French imitators, he tells us, ever became "populaires." "The chapbooks and broadsides" (*l'imagerie populaire*) have been without any effective result. Thousands of parents have read them to thousands of children, and the stories, thanks to the illustrations, have been engraved in all these little brains; but for all that the *contes de fées* have none the more taken root in the villages, and have not become oral again." "The versions harvested in every direction, from the brothers Grimm to M. Paul Sébillot, are different from those of Perrault, and often more archaic." But if Perrault's tales became, by the agency of the broadsides, engraved in thousands of little brains throughout central Europe, they must have been retailed from those little brains thousands, millions of times, and that without knowing their true origin. How then can they be excluded from M. van Gennep's definition of "populaire," especially since he admits, as "populaires" songs of literary origin or contamination? In England chapbooks seem to have played an important part in disseminating Perrault's tales. With other

agencies they succeeded in killing most of the native *mårchen*, as the Norwegian rat has ousted the native breed, and in becoming current in their place. Here at least they became "populaires."

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

L'ÉGLISE ET LA SORCELLERIE. Par J. FRANÇAIS. Précis Historique. Suivi des Documents officiels des Textes principaux et d'un Procès inédit. Paris: E. Nourry, 1910. 8vo, pp. 272.

A VALUABLE contribution to the solution of the vexed question of the origin and spread of witchcraft in the Middle Ages, and the relation of the Church to witchcraft. The book is written from the medical point of view, and the pathology of witchcraft is described with the aid of the author's study of nervous diseases. The author shows the change which has taken place in the attitude of the Church before the fourteenth century and after that period. During the first period, popular superstition of ancient origin was merely tolerated by the Church as a remnant of idolatry, and was considered as canonical sin. From the time of Pope John XXII. on, influenced by the growing superstition, and no doubt by scholastic interpretation, the Church condemned witchcraft as heresy, and punished those guilty of witchcraft with death at the stake. Pope Innocent VIII. laid the foundation of the era of wholesale persecution by his Bull "*Summis desiderantes*," and torture in the examination of accused persons was sanctioned by subsequent Popes. Moreover, the whole system of examination was fixed in the *Malleus Maleficorum* ("Hammer of Evil-doers"), a guide and manual to inquisitors and judges. The Inquisition took the matter into its own hands, with the result that between three hundred thousand and half a million accused of the heresy of witchcraft are said to have perished at the hands of the clerical or lay executioner during three centuries. Dr. Français describes the peculiar symptoms recurring so often

in the avowals made by the tortured victims, such as marks of anaesthesia, hallucinations, and illusions, as so many proofs of mental derangement, auto-suggestion, and hypnotism; the accused were nothing but innocent victims of neuropathia, the result of ignorance, misery, and sexual abnormalities mixed up with ancient popular traditions exaggerated by the trials of the victims. Witchcraft spread as a moral and pathological epidemic from country to country, the author tracing the course which was taken by this epidemic. A terrible indictment against the action of the Church is drawn up by the author of the book, who, in support, publishes in his Appendix Bulls and other official documents hitherto inedited.

The book is at the same time an important contribution to the study of the darker side of popular superstitions and beliefs, some of which survive to this very day, and shows how deep the influence has been which morbid nervous diseases grafted upon ancient traditions and primitive conceptions have exercised upon the mind of the people, and how much of it is still reflected in the folklore of Europe.

M. GASTER..

THE DAWN OF MEDITERRANEAN CIVILISATION. By ANGELO MOSSO. Trans. by MARIAN C. HARRISON. T. Fisher Unwin, 1910. 25 x 16 cm., pp. xxiii + 424. 203 ill.

A WELL-ILLUSTRATED description of the explorations by Sir A. Evans and other archaeologists in the Mediterranean area, as a supplement to the shorter reviews of the question by Professor R. M. Burrows and Mr. and Mrs. Hawes, was wanted. This has now, to some extent, been provided in the present work and in the author's previously published book on the palaces of Crete and their builders. Signor Mosso, who has unhappily passed away since the publication of this book, was more an anthropologist and geologist than an archaeologist. His investigation of these problems was undertaken late in life, and he was inadequately

equipped with that special knowledge which would have qualified him to discuss the tangled origins of the prehistoric Mediterranean world. In this area new information is being almost daily acquired, and the prospect of a successful interpretation of the Cretan hieroglyphs is hopeful. A final review of the question is thus premature. But all students are indebted to the author and publisher for the fine series of illustrations with which the book is furnished.

Among the scattered essays, out of which the book has been compiled, attention may be called to the remarkable series of steatopygous cultus images from Egypt and Mediterranean sites. M. E. Piette found similar figures in the Grotte du Pape at Brassempouy, in the Chalosse district, Landes, which he connects with the physical types from Punt or Somaliland and with the modern Bushmen. They apparently represent a type of the Mother Goddess which descended to Mycenaean times from the neolithic age. The remarks of the writer on the early use of copper and bronze, and on the survivals of beliefs of the Minoan period in Italy, and his rapid survey of the problems connected with the Mediterranean race, all deserve attention.

It is to be regretted that a work of this character should lose some of its value from the inadequacy of the index.

W. CROOKE,

FOLKLORE OF WEST AND MID-WALES. By JONATHAN CEREDIG DAVIES, with a Preface by ALICE, COUNTESS AMHERST. Aberystwyth: *Welsh Gazette* Office, 1911. 8vo, pp. xii + 348.

WALES is fortunate in her patriotic children. The intellectual tastes of the Welsh, their antiquarian and historical bent, and their local pride of race and country have resulted in making her the best covered part of the British Isles in the matter of recorded folklore. Only last year we had the pleasure of giving a favourable review of Mrs. Trevelyan's *Folklore and Folk-stories of Wales*, (*Folk-Lore*, vol. xxi, p. 117), and now Mr. Jonathan Ceredig Davies follows

hard upon her track, and covers nearly the same ground. His matter is, like London muffins, "all hot." He has lived in the midst of it himself, and does not scruple to say so. "Although," he says in his *Introduction*, "although I have been for some years abroad, in Patagonia and Australia, yet I know almost every county in my native land; and there is hardly a spot in the three counties of Carmarthen, Cardigan and Pembroke that I have not visited during the last nine years, gathering materials for this book from old people and others who were interested in such subjects, spending three or four months in some districts." Little personal touches occur here and there through the work, and give a most convincing impression of reality and authenticity to his narrative. "I well remember," he says, "being warned to keep away from fairy rings, when a boy" (p. 90). "I heard the following story of my own grandfather in the neighbourhood of Llanddewi," (p. 163). It is a story of the appearance of the "wraith" of a living man. A young man in Pembrokeshire, in 1905, saw a phantom funeral. "I went to see the man myself," says Mr. Davies (p. 194), "and a clergyman accompanied me."

The matter is arranged as follows; love, wedding, funeral, and other customs; fairies, mermaids, ghosts, death portents; miscellaneous beliefs, birds, witches, wizards, folk-healing, fountains, lakes, caves, and local traditions. Some of the stories are translated from Welsh originals, and so add much to the value of the work. There is not very much in it that is new to folklorists, but it is valuable as first-hand and up-to-date corroboration of what we already knew. The predominance of visions, whether of fairies, ghosts, wraiths, or funerals, of portents, including the corpse-bird and the *gwrach y rhibyn*, and of wizards or "conjurers" who practised astrology and kindred arts, is very characteristic of Wales. Mr. Davies also gives much fuller accounts of the Welsh wedding and funeral customs than we have seen elsewhere. We wish we had space to quote the Bidder's Song, recited from door to door by the official messenger sent to invite the wedding guests, who, as is well known, assembled in force and brought contributions to the housekeeping of the newly-married pair. It was proper to attend weddings on horseback, a custom which it is interesting to find was kept up by the

Welsh colony in Patagonia during the author's residence there (p. 34).

One interesting point which we do not remember to have seen recorded before is that at the beginning of the Christmas holidays the plough was carried into the dwelling-house and placed under the table on which the family took their meals. During the holidays men took the opportunity of visiting their neighbours from house to house, when they were regaled with warm beer, which was always kept ready for visitors at this season. Before drinking, each man poured a little beer upon the plough which lay under the table at which they sat (p. 60). This was in North Pembrokeshire, the Welsh portion of that county. In Pembrokeshire, also, the "cutty wren" was carried about, but on Twelfth Night, not on St. Stephen's Day, and with a set of verses entirely different from the Manx and Irish ditties.

We congratulate our fellow-member, Mr. Davies, on the simplicity and straightforwardness of his narratives. Few works of the kind are so free from wordiness and from ambitious and irrelevant "padding."

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

LA BRETAGNE PITTORESQUE ET LÉGENDAIRE. By PAUL YVES SÉBILLOT. Paris: H. Daragon, 1911.

M. PAUL YVES SÉBILLOT has an hereditary interest not merely in Brittany but in folklore. In this little book, a collection of articles on various subjects relating to his native province, he has contrived to gratify both; and one cannot rise from its perusal without a better idea of Brittany and of its charms than before. Among the folklore marriage and baptismal customs take a prominent place, while the cult of sacred springs, Midsummer fires, costume, the christening of the fishing boats, and other old-world scenes and celebrations are described with details that will be appreciated by every student. The literary and historical associations of Brittany are not forgotten details are given con-

cerning its population and language, and the present and earlier geographical prevalence of the latter; and the volume is closed with five sketches founded on the folk-tales of the country. Of these the last, *La Noël d'Ys*, is particularly attractive.

The author notes many curious customs. The only present made by the bridegroom to his bride, apart from the wedding ring, is a mourning cloak of black with a hood, such as is worn by married women only! By way of example of the well-known *pardons*, that of St. Lawrence, the centre of which is a little pilgrimage chapel at Pouldour, is described; and the ablutions of the pilgrims at the sacred fountain are delineated both by pen and pencil. The solidity of Breton craniums, we are told, is legendary. "It is even stated that formerly before the baptism the god-father on entering the church took the babe by one foot and struck its head against the granite stoup for holy water. If the child were killed the loss was not great—it would never have been anything but a bad Breton; but almost always it was the stoup that was broken, and the godfather was then bound to replace it by a new one." Legendary indeed is such solidity! The fishing boats are christened with a Christian and also with pagan ceremonies, in the course of which a cock is sacrificed and the boat sprinkled with its blood. Apparently at St. Jean du Doigt the clergy still go in procession to light the Midsummer *feu de la Saint Jean*. Formerly an angel used to descend by the help of a cord from the tower of the church for this purpose. I regret to learn that the ancient statue of St. Guirec, which was of wood and much the worse for wear, is no longer in existence on the sea-shore at Ploumanach. The little shrine of the saint stands on the beach, where the saint perhaps, as M. Ernest Renan suggested to me, replaced some ancient divinity of the sea. It was the resort of unmarried girls, who went to pray for husbands. M. Sébillot says they used to stick a pin in the saint's nose. This is not to be taken literally, for the old statue was pierced with pin-holes from head to foot. It is no wonder that the local clergy got up a subscription and replaced it by one of stone, however regrettable it may be. Now that it is no longer possible to stick a pin into the figure of the saint, the pins are thrust between the statue and the pedestal. So hard do these old customs die.

Yet they do die. The author bemoans their disappearance in eloquent language. In the course of modern evolution, he observes, local picturesqueness everywhere gives way before commonplace uniformity. Artists and the curious witness their transformation with regret, but without power to prevent them. The former paint landscapes or monuments which will be some day destroyed or defaced; the latter collect, while yet there is time, the details of these peculiarities of days that have passed away, as one may learn to listen to an old grandmother recounting the memories of her youth. By and by, at least, if there remains no more of all that once constituted the ancient Brittany, it will be possible, by visiting the local museums, by looking at pictures, or by reading the books that describe its peculiarities, to evoke the remembrance of the past, but only as you seek again the charm and scent of a flower, once so fresh and fair, now faded and flattened between the leaves of a book.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

NÁRODOPISNÝ VĚSTNÍK ČESKOSLOVANSKÝ. Vydává Společnost
Narodopisného Musea Českoslovanského. Bohemia: Prague,
1910-1.

THIS publication of the Bohemian Slavonic Ethnographical Museum in Prague is devoted to ethnography in a fairly wide sense, and covers many technological matters outside the scope of *Folk-Lore*.

In the first number for 1910 S. Souček discusses the sources of F. Bartoš's collection of Moravian national songs, published by the Bohemian Academy in 1901, and at the end, as a supplement, is the second part of the tales from Kladno collected by J. Kubín and commented on by J. Polívka. The latter also reviews at length Sir G. L. Gomme's *Folklore as an Historical Science*, and summarizes A. Aarne's study of *Vergleichende Märchenforschungen* (the magic ring, the three enchanted things, the magic fruit, and the magic bird), adding a long list of sources not cited by Aarne.

J. Janko scrutinizes carefully Peisker's reply to attacks upon his theory of the double (Turko-Tartaric and Germanic) servitude of the ancient Slavs, pointing out the partial selection of facts from Rostafiński's unpublished work, and suggesting that Peisker has rendered dis-service to the study of Slavonic pre-history by publishing undigested theories in England (in the second volume of the *Cambridge Mediæval History*).

In the May number J. Horák and O. Zích discuss Bohemian popular songs from both the literary and musical sides, and in June J. Veselý has an article on marionettes and their makers and workers. In the September-October number V. Tille gives an account of the ceremony of beheading the cock at the small Bohemian village of Brná, in which a "Jew" and an "old woman" are characters. There is also a review of V. Flajšhaus's *Česká přísloví*, a collection of proverbs in Bohemian which will take its place beside Dal's Russian, Frank's Ruthenian, and Zaturecký's Slovene collections. In the November-December number there is a short history, by B. Bušek, of Bílov and its customs, manners, and beliefs, including masques at the end of the Carnival and various practices on Ash Wednesday. Professor Gerould's *The Grateful Dead* and Lee's *The Decameron* are among the books reviewed.

In the number for January, 1911, J. Polívka begins a series of articles on tales of faithful wives, and in the February-March number F. Pospíšil describes the sword dance on Bohemian soil, with several examples of the words and music, and Mr. Hartland's *Primitive Paternity* is reviewed at length. In the May number are extracts from a Jesuit's account in Latin of seventeenth-century popular beliefs at Bechyn in Bohemia, and a review of J. Belovic-Bernadzikovska's *Erotische Einschläge in den Stickornamenten der Serben*. This study of the symbolism of lace breaks new ground; an earlier number of the publication before us notices an exhibition of lace in 1910 in the Ethnographical Museum.

The various numbers also contain many other reviews, articles on pottery, statistics, etc., and bring together valuable contributions to our knowledge.

L. C. WHARTON.

CONGO LIFE AND FOLKLORE. Part I. Life on the Congo.
 Part II. Thirty-three Native Stories. By the Rev. JOHN H.
 WEEKS. Religious Tract Society, 1911. 8vo, pp. xxiii +
 468. Ill.

MR. WEEKS, who is already well known to readers of *Folk-Lore* by his careful and graphic records from the Congo, gives in the first part of this freely illustrated volume a general account of Lower Congo beliefs and practices strung upon a thread of the adventures of one of the brass rods used as currency. In its course he tells stories, repeats proverbs and riddles,—and very curious riddles they are!,—and explains games, customs, and etiquette,—according to which loincloths may be used as table napkins, but the mouth and hands are washed carefully before every meal.

Much of our information about savage peoples must be acquired from the enthusiasm of travellers who have spent too short a time amongst those peoples to understand all they see, to speak the native tongue, or, longest task of all, to gain the natives' confidence. Those who have lived long in a strange country often lose their interest in matters become familiar to them, and only yield knowledge, if they still possess it, as the result of persistent cross-examination. Mr. Weeks has kept his early interest, and has added to it ripened experience and sympathy. The stringing together of his material is much more successful than most attempts of the kind, and his mode of presenting Congo folklore in action, instead of in a catalogue, lends much vividness to it.

The most novel matter in the book is the collection of 41 tales, of which eight appear in the first part, and which are an important addition to the small number previously recorded for the Lower Congo. Three-quarters of them are animal fables, the most familiar West African tale represented here being that of the trickster who challenges two much more powerful animals and cheats them into pulling against each other,—the trio here being the sparrow, elephant, and crocodile (pp. 39-42). The fox as arbiter, and the snake and frog as disputants, meet in a version (pp. 77-81) of the widely diffused tale in which an ungrateful animal is tricked into returning into the trap from which he has

been released. In No. xxix the leopard is induced by a beautiful girl to have his teeth and claws removed, and then his markings cut out, so that he dies. While in West Africa a skull, a devil, or a half-man borrows what is needed to complete a handsome man, and, after marriage to a proud girl, returns the lendings, here Mr. Oily-face borrows a face, hair, less-greedy stomach, new teeth, and a nice skin, and his bride presently finds him reduced to his own "nasty body, pimply skin and bulging ugly eyes," and that her new towns-people went to kill and eat her (pp. 182-4).

The supernatural is not very often in evidence. In two tar-baby stories (viii and xxi) a thief sticks to the *nkondi* fetish; in No. xv a spirit which is all head proves a dangerous ally; in No. xix a bargain of the Devil Outwitted type is made with a forest being; and in No. xiv the water spirits revive and foster a slain child. The last story of all also deals with magic transformations.

Mr. Weeks seems to have told, as well as heard, stories, and it would have been useful to have had a record of the stories told, so that it might have been possible later to trace whether they have taken root in local folklore. Some at least of the tales heard seem to show European influence; for example, in a tale collected at San Salvador in 1882 a wizard, carpenter, hunter, and thief show their skill in stealing an egg from under a fowl, hitting it from afar, and putting it together again, and after adventures in a glass ship recover a stolen parrot, and for reward receive a fowl, which lays beads and is killed and divided by "The Four Fools" (pp. 43-5). It is a pity that the Appendix notes do not give for every story particulars of the individual narrators and place of telling.

The author writes that he has collected enough tales to form a bulky volume, those before us being only samples, and that he contemplates a continuation of both his narrative and stories to deal with the Upper Congo. It is greatly to be desired that the reception given to this volume will be such as to encourage him in this purpose, and that he will also make accessible to students the remainder of his Lower Congo stories. Meantime it may be noted that he finds, broadly, that Upper Congo tales are about origins, e.g. "why some birds have nests and others none," and

explain habits and customs, while Lower Congo tales are "didactic parables" and set out a philosophy and wisdom of life.

A. R. WRIGHT.

INDIANLIFE. By ERLAND NORDENSKIÖLD. Stockholm, 1910.
pp. 319.

In this book the well-known Swedish traveller and ethnographer has set down some results of his expedition to the interior of South America, undertaken in the years 1908 and 1909. The Argentine and Bolivian Gran Chaco belongs to those regions in the interior of South America where ethnological as well as geographical exploration has been only slowly advancing, owing to the great difficulties with which expeditions into this strange country are connected. Every work on the Gran Chaco Indians is, therefore, to be welcomed with interest by ethnologists and folklorists, especially when written by a man so thoroughly acquainted with the South American natives as Dr. Nordenskiöld.

In this book Dr. Nordenskiöld mainly deals with four Indian tribes, the primitive Chorates and Ashluslay, living near the River Pilcomayo, and the more cultured Chanés and Chiriguanos, living more towards the north, in southern Bolivia. These Indians represent two different types of culture, the Chorate-Ashluslay and the Chané-Chiriguano culture, which are treated separately. A full account is given of the social organisation, daily life and customs, marriage, teaching of children, feasts and dances, and superstitions and myths of the Indians. Much of what the author tells us, for instance, about the position of women and the relation between the sexes is of great interest. Among the Chorates and the Ashluslay the liberty of the unmarried women is almost unlimited, and free intercourse is allowed between the sexes. The girls in affairs of love generally play the more active part. Pregnancy of unmarried women is prevented by abortion. The girls likewise take the first step towards contracting marriage, and, having chosen a husband for life, become chaste wives and good mothers.

The Chané and Chiriguano folk-tales and myths, which fill a large part of the work, will attract the special attention of the folklorist. The material culture of the tribes is also treated of at some length. Some good photographs add to the value of the book.

It is to be hoped that *Indianlif* may soon be translated into English or some other language which enables students, not acquainted with Swedish, to profit by the valuable information here given on primitive Indian culture.

R. KARSTEN.

THE KACHÁRIS. By the late Rev. SIDNEY ENDLE. Introduction by J. D. ANDERSON. Published under the orders of the Gov. of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Macmillan, 1911. 8vo, pp. xix + 128. Map and ill.

THIS, the last issued volume of a valuable series, differs in character from some of its predecessors, and the contrast between it and Mr. Hodson's account of the Naga tribes of Manipur,¹ which immediately preceded it, is specially noticeable. Mr. Endle was not a trained anthropologist, but during his service of forty-three years as missionary and chaplain in Assam his amiable personality, well described by his friend Mr. Anderson, made him a favourite with European planters as well as with the native races among whom his active life was spent. The present work, though in anthropological value falling short of the standard set in other monographs descriptive of the allied tribes, contains much material of interest and value.

The Kacháris, according to the census of 1901, numbered nearly a quarter of a million; but, if we extend the general name to what Mr. Endle calls the northern and southern group, they aggregate upwards of a million souls. These two groups do not now intermarry, and the barrier of language is sufficient to divide them. But they seem at one time to have formed an united

¹ See Vol. xxii, pp. 266 *et seq.*

people, and their present separation appears to be due to the inroad of the Ahoms, a Shan tribe from the upper course of the Irawadi, who invaded Assam and gave their name to the province in the thirteenth century.

The tribal religion is of the animistic type, earth, air, and sky being in their belief peopled by a host of invisible spiritual beings, known as Modai, possessing powers and faculties superior to those of man, and almost invariably malignant. Neither ancestor worship nor the cult of the forces of nature prevails to any important extent. Their deities fall into two classes,—household and village gods, one revered by the family, and the other by the collective tribe. The leader of the first group is Bāthāu, whose symbol is the tree *Euphorbia splendens*, often to be seen in the homestead surrounded by a bamboo fence. Next to him comes the familiar figure of the Mother Goddess, his consort, Maināo, guardian of the rice fields. Many of the present village deities have been directly imported from Hinduism; the three great annual festivals are, however, not connected with their worship, but with the ingathering of the three annual crops of rice. Offerings to these deities are infrequently made, and generally only when some disaster menaces the community.

Little of the tribal folklore has been collected. They specially reverence water, particularly flowing water, and one of their legends connects the union of the primal pair with a visit to a tank, and attributes the respect for water to the kindness of the fishes, who conferred a boon upon the god Sri, who, with a change of sex, is a direct importation of the Hindu goddess of luck. Their myth of thunder tells how a maiden unwilling to marry flew away into the sky; the voice of her rejected suitor, as he shouts to recall her, makes the thunder, and her fiery glance, as she looks back on him, is the lightning. To the small collection of tales made by Mr. Endle, his editor, Mr. Anderson, adds three: one of the simpleton who changes his betrothed wife for an ox, the ox for a goat, the goat for a bundle of bananas, and these as payment for learning the art of snapping his fingers; the second that of the monkey and the hare, in which the former meets his end when he puts his head into the tiger's mouth; the third a variant of the Swan Maiden cycle, where the youth burns

the plumage of his bird bride, and she lives happily with him ever after.

As in other volumes of this excellent series, the monograph is well illustrated with coloured drawings and photographs.

W. CROOKE.

THE VEDDAS. By C. G. SELIGMANN and BRENDA Z. SELIGMANN. Cambridge University Press, 1911. 8vo, pp. xx+463.

A COMPLETE survey of that interesting race, the Veddas, in supplement to the investigations published in 1893 by Drs. Paul and Fritz Sarasin under the title of *Die Veddas von Ceylon und die sie umgebenden Völkerschaften*, was a task peculiarly suited to those skilled explorers Dr. and Mrs. Seligmann. Further opportunities for such a survey will soon disappear, because the tribe is now verging on extinction, and their characteristic beliefs and customs are being seriously affected by contact with Tamils and Sinhalese. Though pure-blooded Veddas are still not rare, Dr. Seligmann was able to meet only four families, and to hear of two more, which have never practised cultivation. Another cause of their degradation from the anthropological point of view is that some of them have now assumed the rôle of the professional primitive man, exhibiting themselves to travellers clad in their traditional scanty garments, whereas, when not on show, they dress like the neighbouring peasant Sinhalese.

Dr. Seligmann pays a well-deserved tribute to the work done by his wife while they were engaged on this survey, and it is clear that the presence of a lady, whose tactful intercourse with the women of the tribe secured information on family life not otherwise attainable, contributed largely to the success of the expedition. The work, which thus appears under the joint authorship of the explorers, must rank as an anthropological classic, and it is necessary to direct attention only to a few of the more important results.

The Sinhalese believe that the Veddas were once a rich and powerful people, and this tradition is corroborated by reference to them in the Mahawansa chronicle. A few of their rock shelters

which have been examined indicate that they were at one time occupied by Buddhist anchorites, and were subsequently reoccupied by the Veddas. No trace of their original tongue now survives ; but it seems clear that later immigrants from India intermarried with them, and from these unions, with a mixture of Tamil blood, the modern Sinhalese are derived. While their system of kinship now closely resembles that of the Sinhalese, they retain totemistic exogamous clans with matrilinear descent. This clan system is instructively examined in the present book, and the evolution of an organisation based on place-names into the modern territorial community or group is elucidated. Cousin marriage between the children of a brother and sister, not those of two brothers or two sisters, is encouraged. There are practically no tribal legends, and a Vedda cannot remember the names of relations belonging to a generation older than himself.

The most valuable part of the book is the careful account, well illustrated by photographs, of the tribal dances and the records of the invocations which accompany them. The tribal religion is the cult of the kindly spirits of the dead, and the chief agency in the worship is that of the shamans who, in presence of the sacred tribal arrows, become possessed, the object of the rites being a form of magic intended to aid the worshippers in hunting, honey-collecting, and the procuring of the other necessities of their simple life. On the whole, their culture enables us in some degree to realise the condition of the earliest European races regarding whom we possess any knowledge.

In the interpretation of the songs and invocations, often current in an obscure dialect, the authors enjoyed the constant aid of Mr. H. Parker, whose valuable collection of Ceylon folk-tales was recently noticed in these pages.¹ Dr. C. S. Myers has skilfully analysed a collection of folk-music recorded on the phonograph.

The work as a whole, with its scientific examination of an almost unique example of forest culture surviving in Western Asia, will be welcome to all students of folklore, anthropology, and social origins.

W. CROOKE.

¹ *Ante*, pp. 123-5.

MALABAR SERIES. WYNAD: Its Peoples and Traditions. By C. GOPALAN NAIR, Rao Bahadur. Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1911. 8vo, pp. xvi + 160 + iv.

A BOOK about Wynad,—the hill plateau of Malabar, some two to three thousand feet above the sea, interspersed with hills running up to 7500 ft., those to the westward offering the first resistance to the sweep of the monsoon as it reaches over the arid plains of India from the Arabian Sea, where nature is lovely and vegetation prodigal beyond description, inhabited by forest tribes, some of them doubtless autochthonous and others which, in the generations since they left their neighbouring plains, have been imbued by their change of habitat,—a book of this fascinating title may well be taken up eagerly by the student of folklore, especially as its author is a native of Malabar. "Sorrento without the sea,"—"A botanical debauch,"—have been said of Wynad by one who had a keen eye for the picturesque, a keen botanist, one time governor of the Madras Presidency, to which it belongs. It might indeed be called a folklore debauch, teeming as it is with peoples in varying stages of development, some of them unable to subtract three from five, or even to count five, and so diverse. Unfortunately this little book tells very little about them which will interest the folklorist,—the description of eighteen tribes divided into "Chettis," "Hill tribes," "Aborigines—predial slaves," "Aborigines—forest dwellers," being confined within sixty-two small pages of large print. Slight and sketchy as the matter set forth is it would be more acceptable were one able to feel that it had been acquired at first hand by the author himself: somehow it does not convince. Little is said of religious beliefs and practices, or customs, and nothing at all of easily observed facts,—e.g. that the Kurichchiyans are hunters, genuine hunters, slaying even the tiger with their arrows; or that they shoot fish in the big river, using long light arrows similar in principle to the Greenlanders' spear. The Greenlanders' spear is, by the way, paralleled by the weapon used by fishers on the Malabar coast when their quarry is the shark, an esteemed article of diet, as well as by those who kill fish in the rivers, using a small steel spear-head, to which is fastened cunningly a long string with a float at

the end, momentum being given to it by means of a seven-foot blow-pipe. Under "Hunting in Wynad," a locality where wild elephants are to be seen in immense herds, where the bison, and, indeed, nearly all the forest fauna of India may be found, "The Tiger Hunt" and "The Boar Hunt" alone are mentioned. True, the author says the Chettis bear a part in the former, but he does not say that it is the particular *métier* of this people to slay the tiger in the extraordinary manner which, as it obtains nowhere else in India, I may briefly relate. The houses and yards of the Wynad Chettis are always most remarkably and scrupulously clean, and, while everything is in its place, one always sees somewhere about every Chetti's house or yard a piece of about twenty feet of stout rope netting. When it is announced that a tiger has visited the neighbourhood, the elders get together, and a religious ceremonial is gone through for the purpose of ascertaining whether the (ancestral) deity wishes this tiger to be slain, *i.e.* sacrificed. Should the response be negative, no further notice is taken of the tiger, but, if it is affirmative, every Chetti at once brings out his piece of netting, and the place in the forest where the animal is known to be is soon enclosed by a net some seven feet high. The circle is gradually made smaller and smaller, and at last the tiger, infuriated by noise and missiles,—the whole countryside is gathered there *en fête* by this time,—charges the net, to be killed by long spears. These spears, ten or twelve feet in length, are, like the pieces of netting, kept solely for this purpose. The carcass is sacred, and, save that it is suspended in mid air, the tail straight in a line with the vertebral column, fastened to a pole hung horizontally, it is untouched. It is a sacrificial offering, and absolutely tabu. There it must remain until it rots away. To sell or give away the skin, or any portion of the body, or barter the former for the government reward, would be unthinkable. The author does not allude to the religious feature of this affair, surely its most interesting one.

For the illustrations, reproductions of photographs of individuals of each of the eighteen tribes, we may be thankful. Something might well have been said of a climate where a rainfall of 52 inches has been measured in three days, and is not so very unusual. The chapters on ancient and political history, compiled

from modern sources, are invertebrate and not always comprehensible to a stranger to Malabar. The author tells one interesting fact: that Brâhma, Vishnu, and Siva are jointly worshipped in a temple on Manukunnu. Of course the real jungle folk would take no interest in this shrine. Wynad is, by the by, remarkably full of antiquities, of which the book tells nothing.

F. FAWCETT.

THE TRIBE AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS IN AUSTRALIA. By GERALD C. WHEELER. With a Prefatory Note by EDWARD A. WESTERMARCK. John Murray, 1910. 8vo, pp. xii + 168.

THIS little book is intended to be "the first in a series of sociological works published in connection with the Martin White benefaction at the University of London." Thus Professor Westermarck concludes the Prefatory Note with which he introduces the volume his teachings have inspired. It is to be hoped that it may prove the forerunner of many similar monographs; for in anthropology there is perhaps no more urgent need at the present moment than the study of related groups of men apart from other groups, with the object of gathering into one focus all that we know about their social institutions, their customs, and ideas. By this means alone can a firm foundation be laid for comparison, for the extrication of principles which govern the development of civilization, and for the sound exposition of the meaning of practices superficially alike, but often starting from very different motives.

Mr. Wheeler has chosen a subject admirably calculated to illustrate the beginnings of social organization. The Australian tribes, thinly scattered over an immense area, for the most part unfavourable to any large population, though yielding to small groups a sufficient supply of the most elementary wants of life, moreover, being themselves, roughly speaking, homogeneous and lacking the impetus of contact with foreign ideas, organization, and material civilization of a kind and degree that they could assimilate, have remained for ages untold in a condition almost

stationary. They are among the lowest of existing savages. Thus they afford us an object-lesson of the utmost value in the early stages of civilization. The essay before us, by isolating and bringing together in a small compass the facts relating to their political organization, such as it is, enables us to see the manner in which society began from vague and indeterminate relations of individuals to individuals and of groups to groups, and gradually feeling its way to more and more definite forms. Such an essay is of course one-sided, leaving out of consideration as it does to a great extent the social relations founded upon marriage and descent, and upon the elementary religious ideas and practices. These have been the subject of discussion much more than the political relations, and consequently are already better understood. But there is still room for a monograph that shall gather up from all parts of the island-continent and compare whatever has been ascertained on the subject.

The chief difficulties in Mr. Wheeler's way, and in the way of writers of all monographs on the Australian natives, have been the lack of trustworthy information on nearly the whole of the western half of the country, and the loose terminology of the writers to whom we are indebted for our knowledge. The former may be overcome in time. The latter is partly caused by the loose and inchoate nature of the society described. Tribal consciousness is hardly yet evoked. Although some relationships are defined, others are still vague. But it is also caused by the want of exact terms on the part even of scientific writers. Mr. Wheeler himself has not wholly escaped this stumbling-block. Take for instance the following passage:—"The individual Australian, besides belonging to a local group in a tribe, belongs also to a totem-group. These totem-groups, in general, form the lowest classes in the various systems existing in Australia for the purpose of fixing descent. These lowest classes we may, with Dr. Westermarck, fittingly call 'clans.' But among the Arunta and certain neighbouring tribes the totem-group and the clan do not coincide, so that the individual belongs both to a totem-group (which is also local) and to a clan" (p. 117). But he has just expressly defined a clan as a totem-group. On p. 123, following Spencer and Gillen, he again equates an Arunta clan with a sub-class in the

marriage organization, while on p. 140, following Howitt, he identifies a Narrinyeri clan with a "primary local division," where in fact under male descent it denotes a band of kinsmen living in close propinquity. The blunder is in applying the term *clan* to the Arunta marriage-classes, with which in its ordinary acceptation it has nothing to do, and, having so wrongly applied it, in not sticking to his definition. A parallel mistake is in the use of the word *totem* for totem-group or totem-clan. "In general," he says, "the totem is identical with the clan," which it is not. What he means is that the totemic group, otherwise called the totem-kin, is identical with the clan.

However, these deductions being admitted, Mr. Wheeler has written a useful little book. If it does not add much to our knowledge, it enables us to clarify our notions of Australian political organization. His notes on the comparative value of authorities are useful. He rightly emphasizes the obscurity of meaning of the terms used by too many writers on the Australian tribes, whether that obscurity result from the vagueness of the natives or that of the writer. He properly criticizes the statement of Maine that "it is not peace which was natural and primitive and old, but rather war," shewing that peace is the normal condition of these tribes, and that at all events wars are never undertaken for conquest of territory. He shews the rudiments of markets and of private property among them, and the beginning of a distinction between public and private offences. And his protest that the writers on dogmatic International Law have not attempted to deal with the customs prevailing among the more primitive races, with the result of a certain—and, we may add, a not inconsiderable—"distortion of the facts as regards the early history of international customs and morality, which cannot be without its effect on the systematic treatment," is both called for and not at all too strongly put. A study of such works as this would teach writers on International Law to base their theories on securer ground.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

FF COMMUNICATIONS (1-6). Edit. by J. BOLTE, K. KROHN, A. OLRİK, and C. W. VON SYDOW. (1-4) Helsingfors: Finnish Acad. of Science, 1911. 8vo, pp. 24+x+66+8. (6) Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911. 8vo, pp. 38.

THE Danish Folk-Lore Society was founded in 1904-5,¹ and No. 1 of the *Communications* of the "FF" (*Folkloristischer Forscherbund*) is an abridged catalogue by Prof. Orlík of the Society's collections. The Grundtvig and phonograph-record sections are fully classified (except one sub-section), the manuscripts of Kristensen,² (happily still alive), are in part similarly arranged, and other material is put into classified yearly series of packets, (those of 1906 receiving all short contributions, and not being confined to northern folklore). In No. 2 A. Lunding gives the arrangement of Grundtvig's 800 Ms. tales under 134 types (in addition to religious legends, animal stories, and drolls), some types being subdivided. To identify types more closely, references are usually added to examples in printed Danish and other collections. No. 4 is the first Report of the "FF." In No. 3 Antti Aarne proposes a classification of folk-tales under 2000 divisions, 1-299 covering beast tales, 300-1199 *märchen* properly so called,³ and 1200-2000 drolls; about 540 divisions are filled up, and some subdivided. Aarne's system is applied by him to Finnish *märchen* in No. 5, and by O. Hackman to the *märchen* of Swedish-speaking people in Finland in No. 6. Our own Society has hitherto regarded analysis of the stories as a necessary preliminary to their classification, and has limited its efforts to tabulating tales on lines laid down in its *Handbook* (1887). Of the results of this tabulation only the *Cinderella* group has yet been published (1892), and similar treatment of the enormous numbers of tales recorded, especially since 1887, would obviously require very many years even for a multitude of workers. Aarne's system, and others already proposed, furnish together an adequate basis upon which, after discussion, a definitive classification might now be founded, perhaps by international agreement, and so comparative folklore might gain a really powerful aid in its utilization of folk-tales.

A. R. WRIGHT.

¹ *Folk-Lore*, vol. xx., pp. 120-2.

² *Ib.*, vol. ix., pp. 194-224.

³ Cf. *ante*, pp. 242-4, for his study of one cycle.

SHORT NOTICES.

History of Anthropology. By A. C. HADDON, with the help of A. HINGSTON QUIGGIN. Watts & Co., 1910. Sm. 8vo, pp. x+158. Ill. *The Wanderings of Peoples.* By A. C. HADDON. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1911. Sm. 8vo, pp. vii+124. 5 maps.

AN indefatigable investigator provides in these two volumes at nominal cost a history of a great science and a summary of a complex subject, and can claim in each case to break new ground. The first tells a very fascinating story, but one lays it down with surprise that the study of our Society is defined so narrowly and its progress dismissed so briefly. Perhaps in the process of compression folklore has suffered by accident, which must also be the cause of the absence of *The Golden Bough* and of all the works of Dr. Tylor and Dr. Westermarck from the bibliography at the end. The second volume seeks to explain, with extreme brevity but intelligibly, the folk-wanderings of the past, from the dim driftings of early flint-users to the African movements stayed only the other day by the intrusions of the white man. If the student finds it hard to digest the compacted information, thoroughly-serviceable little bibliographies enable him to obtain further details.

The Place-Names of Berkshire. By the Rev. WALTER W. SKEAT. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. 12mo, pp. 118.

PROF. SKEAT has previously published studies of the place-names of four other counties (Beds., Cambs., Hunts., Herts.). The folklore student will find all five studies of great value for authoritative interpretations and early forms of place-names, and for these counties he should no longer seek to throw light on local traditions by erroneous etymologies.

Books for Review should be addressed to

THE EDITOR OF *Folk-Lore*,

c/o DAVID NUTT,

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